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RADICALS AND REVOLUTIONARIES

THE HISTORY OF CANADIAN COMMUNISM
FROM THE ROBERT S. KENNY COLLECTION

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THE HISTORY OF CANADIAN COMMUNISM FROM THE ROBERT S. KENNY COLLECTION

BY SEAN PURDY

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ROBERT S. KENNY
BY TOM REID

AN EXHIBITION HELD AT THE
THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
APRIL 27, 1998 – JULY 10, 1998

Overleaf: Canadian Labour Defense League demonstration, probably Queen's Park, Toronto 1934.

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Seven Ages of Man: A Folio of Wood-Engravings. Toronto, [1939].
Reproduced with permission of the artist's widow Bettye M. Hyde.

Back cover: Child holding a placard at the 1935 May Day celebrations at Queen's Park, Toronto, and Tim Buck addressing a rally at the Saskatoon train station in 1935 as part of a national tour after his release from prison.

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FOREWORD

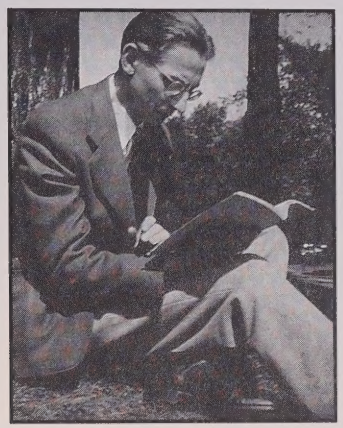
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ROBERT S. KENNY COLLECTION AND THE Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library goes back over twenty years. In 1977 we purchased, for a nominal price, Mr. Kenny's collection of Canadian material relating to the history of radical socialist movements in this country, going back to the time of William Lyon Mackenzie, and covering aspects of many different organizations. It included the usual books, pamphlets and broadsides, but also contained posters, medals, ribbons and other ephemeral pieces, and a considerable quantity of manuscripts. It is this collection upon which the exhibition and catalogue are based.

Mr. Kenny's total collection was, however, much larger and in 1992 we received as a gift his enormous gathering of material concerning international socialism in all its ramifications, as well as the rest of his library. After his death in September 1993 we added collections on the history of printing, Baudelaire, Anglo-Irish literature and much else to the Fisher Library collections, and a great deal of material to the Kenny collection. We also received a significant bequest of money, which has enabled us to fund a cataloguing project, some scholarly research, and this exhibition and catalogue.

Robert Kenny was one of the great book collectors of our time. His scholarly propensities enabled him to understand the importance of research collections for the study of historical context and helped him to create an unique resource. He has left us a legacy of international significance which we are pleased to share with as wide an audience as possible.

Richard Landon
Director
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

ROBERT S. KENNY



A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

ROBERT SHELDON KENNY WAS BORN IN LINDSAY, ONTARIO ON FEBRUARY 2ND, 1905. "Bert" was the twelfth of fourteen children of Dr. William Kenny, who had eight children by his first wife and six more with his second. Shortly after Bert started primary school his father died, and the family was forced to move, first to Galt and then to Toronto, in order that the older children could find employment.

Bert's lifelong interest in poetry, literature and book collecting was sparked by two of his teachers at Toronto's Riverdale High School, Mr. Carstairs and Captain Watson. Bert attended the University of Toronto, but was obliged to withdraw after his first year, for financial reasons. He began full-time work at a Dominion grocery store on Broadview Avenue.

In 1927 he followed an older brother to Ohio where he was hired as the manager of the Cleveland Heights A&P store. He arrived for his first day of work carrying a book of Algernon Swinburne's poetry, which caught the eye of a customer who invited him to a meeting of a local literary club. William F. Barnard, the group's organizer, was a long-time Socialist who had been a delegate to that party's 1917 convention. In retrospect, Bert considered Barnard to have been more of an anarchist than a Marxist, but the discussions in his little circle were immensely stimulating for the young bibliophile. Bert soon found a position in the Cleveland Public Library where he had the chance to acquaint himself with its substantial collection of French literature.

Tiring of Cleveland, Bert packed up his belongings (including two suitcases of his favourite books) and hitchhiked to Montreal, where he was hired as a clerk by

Above: Robert Kenny, circa 1940s.

Sun Life. The misery and social devastation produced by the depression propelled Bert, like many of his generation, sharply to the left. In 1931 he met a member of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC), went to a meeting, and soon became a member. When Sun Life's management learned of his new political affiliation, he was informed that his services were no longer required.

Bert remained in Montreal as a marginally employed political activist for the next several years and lived with Beatrice Ferneyhough, a feisty young McGill graduate who often participated in the CPC's illegal demonstrations in Parc Lafontaine wearing her trademark leather jacket. She and Bert played leading roles in the Canadian League Against War and Fascism in Montreal, and helped set up a branch in Ottawa.

In the mid-1930s, Bert and Bea moved to Toronto where they attempted to establish a commercially viable left-wing bookstore. Though they lacked the necessary financial resources to survive in the trade, Bert knew enough about books to find intermittent employment in better-capitalized establishments. In the early years of World War II, when the CPC was driven underground and its top cadres jailed, Bea Ferneyhough served as the Secretary of the Dominion Communist-Labor Total War Committee—the legal front group which directed Communist political activity.

Bert liked to tell about the time, shortly after the party was declared illegal, when a policeman turned up at his door to arrest him for purveying seditious literature. After only a few days in jail, Bert managed to convince a judge to quash the charges on the grounds that the fact that he only had one or two copies of each item proved he was merely a consumer, rather than a retailer, of the forbidden materials.

Bert and Bea parted in 1944. Bea went to Saskatchewan to work on Dorise Nielson's campaign for re-election as Meadow Lake's federal Member of Parliament. In 1968, under the pen-name Catherine Vance, Bea published a biography of an early Canadian woman communist, Bella Hall Gauld. She and Bert kept in touch over the years through their mutual friend, Lil Greene, and in 1994, two years before she died, Bea's friends published *Singing in the Night*, a collection of her poems, several of which date from her time with Bert.

After Bea's departure, Bert began a relationship with Bessie Touzel, whom he had first met while organizing in Ottawa a decade earlier. Bessie, a charming woman who shared Bert's socialist convictions, was a pioneer in the field of social work for which, in 1987, she was honoured as the inaugural recipient of the Order of Ontario. Bessie's friendship with Bert was strained by her decision to take a new job in Ottawa and avoid the wave of anti-communist hysteria then sweeping Toronto's social services. Bert felt that she should have stayed and fought the red-baiters. They continued to see each other intermittently for some years, but according to Bessie, their relationship was never really the same from then on.

During this period, Bert continued to work in second-hand book stores in Toronto. Douglas Brown, of the William Morris Society of Canada, recalled:

> In the 1940s Robert Kenny was an obscure left-wing intellectual who eked out a living in Walter Honsberger's Rendezvous Book Shop on the west side of Toronto's Yonge Street just north of Charles St, in a low-rise building that has long since disappeared. I ... remember Robert Kenny very clearly. He was

known for the phenomenal speed with which he could read books and absorb their contents.[1]

In 1953 Bert married Janet Murray. They had met when Bert spotted her sitting by herself at a table in a Honeydew Restaurant reading *The Ethics of Socialism*. Janet was originally from Nova Scotia, but had worked in Toronto as a children's librarian since 1927. She loved the outdoors and was an avid swimmer and canoeist—activities in which she was never able to interest Bert. From 1949 until her retirement, she was head of Children's Services for the York Township library system. Her interest in storytelling as a means of developing children's appetite for literature led her to teach a course in the subject at the University of Toronto's Faculty of Library Science.

From the early 1950s until his retirement in 1970, Bert managed the warehouse of the Guidance Centre at the University of Toronto's College of Education. With two regular incomes, Janet and Bert were able to purchase a modest house (176 Tyrrel Avenue) which they shared with Bert's ever-expanding book collection.

Bert and Bessie had not spoken to each other for over thirty years, but a few months after Janet's death in February 1988, they met unexpectedly in a Ziggy's store in Toronto, and renewed their old friendship. For the next few years they saw a great deal of one another. Bessie organized Bert's care during his final illness, and was with him at the end, on the night of 28 September 1993. Four years later, when Bessie died, her obituary in the *Globe and Mail* (26 April 1997) referred to Bert Kenny as "her soulmate".

Bert's appetite as a collector was legendary. A December 1983 *Books In Canada* article on notable figures in the book trade referred to Bert as a man "well-known and highly respected by every bookseller in Toronto", who had "amassed an enormous collection of almost every left-wing book, pamphlet, newspaper, and manifesto ever printed in Canada".[2]

When the Kennys's close friend, Peter Weinrich, a Toronto bookseller who specialized in socialist and anarchist materials, began compiling *Social Protest*, the definitive bibliography of left-wing radicalism in Canada to 1970, he discovered that Bert's collection was his single most important source. The archive of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, predecessor of the New Democratic Party, was the next best. None of the other collections he consulted, including that of the Communist Party, had many additional items.

Bert's collection was best known for its left-wing materials, but it was also strong in *belles-lettres* and the history of printing. In September 1956 when the Royal Ontario Museum mounted an exhibition entitled "The Art of Fine Printing and Its Influence Upon the Bible in Print", it borrowed eleven items from Bert. In October 1963, the Hart House Library displayed Bert's Keats-Baudelaire collection. Douglas Lochhead, Librarian of Massey College, commented:

> Mr. Kenny's exhibit, which fills nine cases, is part of the result of years of collecting and it amply displays the discrimination, tenacity and inventiveness that mark the imaginative book collector ... It is interesting in itself; it is also an outstanding example of what the private book collector of modest means can do if he defines his limits, saves his pennies for the occasional expensive find, and keeps looking.[3]

Robert and Janet Kenny on their honeymoon, 1953.

Tenacity was one of Bert Kenny's outstanding characteristics—both as a book collector and a Communist. In replying to criticisms levelled at the CPC by *Canadian Dimension's* Cy Gonick, Bert observed: "The struggle for socialism is infinitely complex; it appears simple only to the novice. What is required is patient study, deep reflection, the staying power of the long-distance runner".[4]

Bert was proud of his "staying power", which evidently derived from his own "deep reflection" on the larger patterns of human history. Bessie Touzel recalled him telling her that, in 1931, when he first joined the party, "somebody said, 'that bookworm, you know he'll last three weeks and he'll be out'. Bert loved to say 'It's now 61 years ... 62 years'".

Bert knew Tim Buck and the other top leaders of the Communist Party, and, for a time in the 1970s, served on its Central Committee. In the 1950s and 60s, he served as a lecturer and also as director of the CPC's study centre, the Dr. Norman Bethune School of Social Sciences. However, most of his political work was done in lower party units. Lil Greene, who, like Bert and Janet, belonged to the CPC's Ward 5 Club, during the 1970s and 1980s, recalled: "What was happening ... was that we were old, getting old. And [many club members] couldn't climb steps and put leaflets in the door. But you'd be amazed by how some of these comrades did still climb steps, and throw in leaflets in the letter slots".

Janet and Bert were among the oldest, and also the most active, members of the Ward 5 Club. In the early 1980s they played an important role in "Hillcrest for Peace", a successful grass roots peace group in their neighbourhood. Bert felt that his work in the peace movement was complemented by his role as vice-chairman of the Canada–USSR Friendship Association. Mike Lucas, chairman of that organization (today known as the "Concerned Friends of Soviet People") had first met Bert in the 1930s: "You saw him in every demonstration, every meeting, every organization. He was part of the progressive movement throughout his life, whether it be the women's movement, trade union movement or any other movement, he was part of it. He was always involved, he was always interested".

Bert was well known in the party for his ability to speak on a wide range of political, historical and cultural topics. Every year he gave the address at the party's Robbie Burns celebration. Mike Lucas recalled that when Bert spoke: "You felt as if he was talking to you alone, not to the audience, as if you had a conversation across the table ... He'd never raise his voice, he was not the man to show great emotion on the stage, or rhetoric".

Bert had a particular interest in Ireland, and in a November 1975 address on the troubles in that country, predicted, "The workers of the North ... will not always cling, like a drowning man to an orange lily". In the same address he point-

ed to the intimate connection between Ireland's rich literature and its history of national oppression by the English:

> I make no claim that my country of [ancestral] origin is the seat of all virtue. But let me mention two features of Irish life that I think are worthy of your respect. By nothing is a nation so exalted as by its literature. Condemned by the circumstance of conquest to speak an alien tongue, Irish writers have excelled in this acquired language... To the Irish has been given the splendid and fatal gift of eloquence, an eloquence that might seem strange on English lips, but seems most natural on Irish lips. As a nation they do not live in the dry light of reason; theirs is the persuasion of the heart, the sensations, the ardent passion.

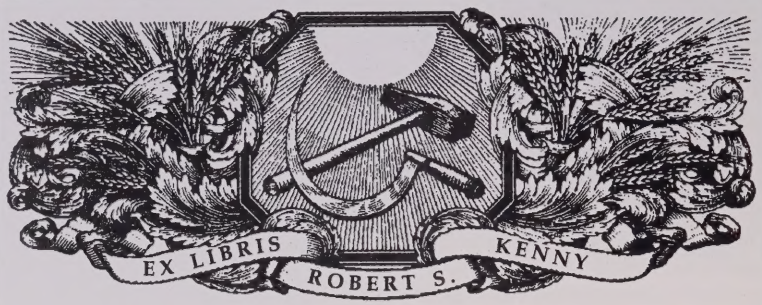
The disintegration of the Soviet bloc in the late 1980s undermined morale within the CPC and eventually produced a deep split in its cadre. The last years of Bert's life, following Boris Yeltsin's 1991 triumph and the demise of the USSR, were extremely difficult. Hundreds of old cadres walked away from the movement to which they had devoted their lives. Bert refused to give up, but he was deeply distressed. Lil Greene remembers: "It was sad at the end watching how he wouldn't speak up. We always expected him to bring things down to earth, but he was so disappointed ... He was heartbroken about what was going on in the socialist countries, as were a lot of people".

Twenty years earlier Bert had written an article marking the centenary of the Paris Commune, which drew the connection between that first attempt at establishing workers' power and the Bolshevik victory in 1917, almost half a century later. He described how, on March 31, 1871, the Parisian insurgents had announced: "'Today, the Red Flag, symbol of the Social and Democratic Republic, will fly above the Dome of the Pantheon'... A red flag was not to fly again over any government building in Europe until the red flag was raised above government buildings in 1917 in Petrograd".[5]

The Commune was drowned in blood, and the red flag no longer flies over the Kremlin. Learned academics and pop journalists agree that we have witnessed the 'Death of Communism'. But as Bert's 1971 essay pointed out, similar observations were made in the years prior to the Paris Commune: "In 1854, Louis Reybaud wrote in his dictionary of political economy, 'Socialism is dead; to speak of it is to deliver its funeral oration'". Bert recalled Lenin's observation that though it was defeated, "the cause of the Commune did not die. It lives to the present day in every one of us".[6]

Robert Kenny was one of those remarkable few who remain true to the ideals of their youth. His life transcended the petty struggle for personal advancement. In his will he generously left his entire library to the University of Toronto, as well as a substantial sum of money. The magnificent collection he painstakingly assembled, now permanently housed in the Thomas Fisher Library, is a precious resource for all those who come after him who share his commitment to the struggle to end the 'despotism of capital over labour'.

Tom Reid



ANNOUNCING THE

Robert S. Kenny Prize
in
Marxist & Labour/Left Studies

To honour the memory of the late Robert S. Kenny, an annual prize has been established to recognize writing that advances the cause of labour.

Canadian citizens and permanent residents of Canada writing on topics related to Marxist and labour/left studies or international scholars publishing in such areas as they relate to Canada, are eligible for the award.

The winner will receive $1000, and will be expected to deliver a public lecture at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto.

The members of the awards committee are Professor Stephen Endicott, Professor Harry Glasbeek, and Professor Bryan Palmer. Closing date for nominations for the 1998 prize is 29 June. Inquiries can be directed to Professor Bryan D. Palmer, Editor, Labour/Le Travail, *Department of History, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, K7L 3N6.*

RADICALS AND REVOLUTIONARIES

AN INTRODUCTION

RADICALS AND REVOLUTIONARIES EXPLORES A SIGNIFICANT AND NEGLECTED area in Canadian history—the experiences of the radical workers' movement and the Communist Party of Canada (CPC). Popular representations of Canadian history usually focus on prime ministers, wars, business élites and the 'peaceful' development from colony to nation. In the last thirty years, a new generation of historians has begun to challenge this conventional view. They have highlighted the role played by the working-class, and the contributions of alternative movements and cultures. This exhibition follows in their footsteps. In the words of radical historian E.P. Thompson, it seeks to rescue "from the enormous condescension of posterity"[1] the experiences of a movement which recognized the fundamental inequality and injustice of Canadian society, and struggled to build a socialist society in which ordinary people freely determined their own futures.

The radical and Communist workers' movement was a minority current on the Canadian political scene. Yet at key points it posed a pointed challenge to the established order, carving out a sizeable niche in the politics and social relations of working-class communities across the country. Within that section of the socialist movement which openly identified itself as revolutionary, the CPC clearly predominated. It was instrumental in building the industrial union movement and played a key role in many of the major strikes of this century. In the social upheavals of the 1930s and 1940s, its influence extended far beyond its numbers. Often subject to the naked power of state repression, it recruited a diverse and tal-

Above: Members of the Tim Buck Club, Young Communist League, entering Queen's Park, Toronto for the 1936 May Day demonstration.

ented group of political activists and organizers, artists and writers, committed to the socialist cause.

The Robert S. Kenny collection at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library contains extensive holdings of rare manuscripts and printed records, photographs, and other documents of the radical left. Focusing on the CPC, it spans the period from the making of the working class in the nineteenth century to the 1990s. It contains extensive holdings on CPC leaders such as Tim Buck and A.E. Smith, as well as material on many rank-and-file members. The bulk of the collection relates to Ontario, but it also covers other areas of Canada as well as the international socialist movement. There are many rare and exceptional periodicals, pamphlets, and other records of the British, American, Soviet and larger international communist movements. In addition to documenting the major events in the CPC's history, the collection sheds light on many little known working-class struggles. Books, letters, internal documents, convention proceedings, pamphlets, broadsides, song books, periodicals, medals, ribbons, posters, photographs—the contents of the Kenny collection constitute a veritable gold mine of the history of radical politics.

Note on the Organization of the Exhibition and Catalogue

The exhibition and the catalogue are organized around a series of key themes in the history of Canadian communism. This reflects both the nature of the collection and the major areas of study in the historiography of the Canadian workers' movement. Within the boundaries of the collection, an attempt has been made to portray the history of Canadian communism in all its diversity: national developments and local experiences, top leaders and rank-and-file members, celebrated historical events and lesser-known episodes in the class struggle. Inevitably, certain topics have been emphasized to the detriment of others; yet it is hoped that the exhibition will spark interest and research in the full range of subjects in this rich and rewarding field of study.

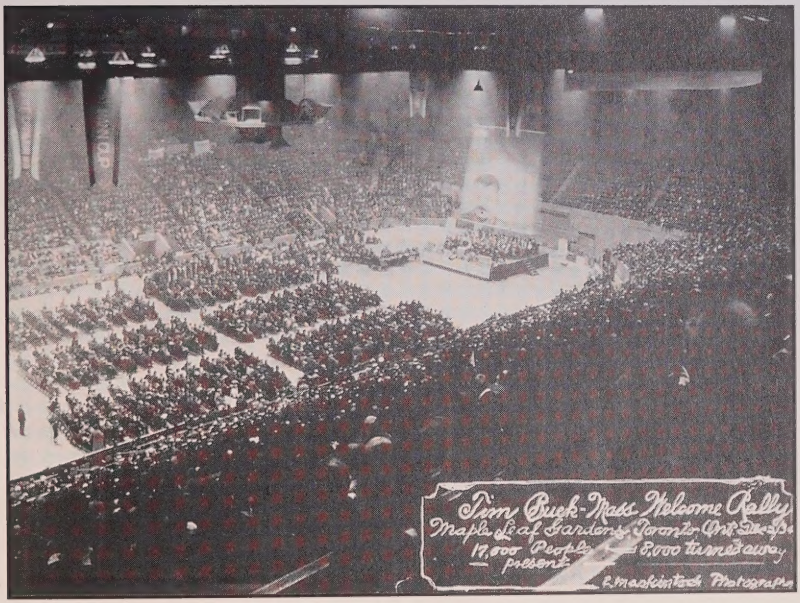
This catalogue lists and describes selected items on display in the exhibition. Some of the documents, posters, and newspapers on display, especially those in the Reading Room cases and walls, have not been explicitly listed, while others are referred to in the introductions to the various thematic chapters.

Acknowledgments

This project has benefited enormously from the help of many people at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. Anne Dondertman was my main link to the library world, providing friendly and valuable advice and constructive criticism on all aspects of the exhibition and catalogue. Tom Reid generously shared his knowledge of socialism, contributed the biographical section on Robert Kenny and provided advice at all stages of selecting the material and preparing the catalogue text. Sue Chater, Sarah Sung, and Philip Oldfield translated various documents. Many thanks also go to Emrys Evans and Linda Joy for mounting the exhibition and providing suggestions for the layout of the display cases. Richard Landon contributed valuable advice and comments on a number of topics. The entire staff welcomed me into their workplace and were helpful at each stage of

the process. They all deserve my appreciation. Many thanks also go to Chris Roberts for copy editing the catalogue text, and the Kenny Advisory Committee—Lil Greene, Cyril Greenland, Bryan Palmer and Ray Stevenson—for their support of the project and help in organizing the exhibition and writing the catalogue.

Sean Purdy


Tim Buck-Mass Welcome Rally
Maple Leaf Gardens, Toronto, Ont. Dec. 2nd
17,000 People present
8,000 turned away
R. Macpherson Photographer

Photograph of the mass welcome rally for Tim Buck, after his release from Kingston Penitentiary, at Maple Leaf Gardens, December 2, 1934.

CASE 1

IDEAS ARE WEAPONS

THE MARXIST INTELLECTUAL TRADITION

Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.
Vladimir Lenin *What Is To Be Done?*, 1902[1]

MARXISM—THE REVOLUTIONARY THEORY DEVELOPED BY KARL MARX AND Friedrich Engels in the middle of the nineteenth century—has always been a critically important component of the socialist movement in Canada. Marxists argue that capitalism is exploitative, oppressive and crisis-ridden, a social system controlled by a small minority at the expense of the large majority of ordinary people. They contend that working-class revolution is required to end this unjust system and replace it with a socialist society in which production is determined by human need and not private profit. Even those progressive thinkers who reject the socialist mantle have been heavily influenced by the penetrating critique of capitalism offered by Marxism.

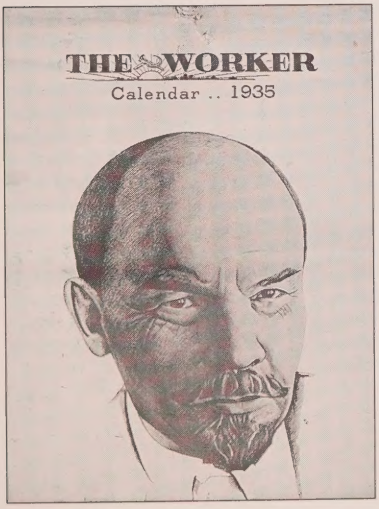
Marxists consider theory not only as a means to understanding the world, but as a guide to transforming it. Engels, Marx's life-long collaborator, argued that Marx was first and foremost a revolutionary. "Philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways", Marx proclaimed, "the point is to *change* it".[2] This interplay between theory and practice has guided the Marxist movement since its inception.

It also guided the pioneer socialists in Canada. Attracting a majority of workers to the socialist cause required credible alternative explanations of how the world worked and how to change it. In workplaces, pubs, union halls, street corner meetings, party lectures, socialist bookstores, homes, and social gatherings, workers met to read, discuss, debate, propagate and, most importantly, act upon the critique of capitalist society. Rooted in the various struggles of the day, activists in the workers' movement searched for political clarification both to understand the larger world and to aid them in their day-to-day activities.

Socialists attempted to provide workers with answers to the burning social, economic and political questions of the day.

In the early years of the twentieth century, socialist literature was difficult to obtain in Canada. It was generally imported by immigrant socialists to Canada or purchased from socialist publishers in Britain and the United States. In the First World War era, works by Marx and Engels and other European Marxists circulated among the two major socialist organizations in Canada: the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP). Before long, these groups began to publish their own editions of Marxist classics, and pamphlets on contemporary issues in the labour movement. Reflecting the desire to broadly educate their members, early socialist organizations also included in their recommended reading lists Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Henry George, and even Rudyard Kipling.[3]

The fledgeling communist movement profited from the availability of political writings by leading Bolsheviks, and first-hand accounts of the Russian Revolution by John Reed. As the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) grew in influence in the workers' movement, it created an impressive educational edifice to train members in socialist theory and practice. The party had its own educational department, publishing a wide range of materials, and organizing study groups and courses for party members. Promising young members were sent to the Soviet Union for intensive training at the Lenin School. The CPC also encouraged its members to engage with broader ideas and to undertake research in Canadian history and culture. It launched a 'People's History' project in 1948 under the tutelage of Margaret Fairley and Stanley Ryerson, sparking the publication of numerous journal articles and several books on Canadian history.



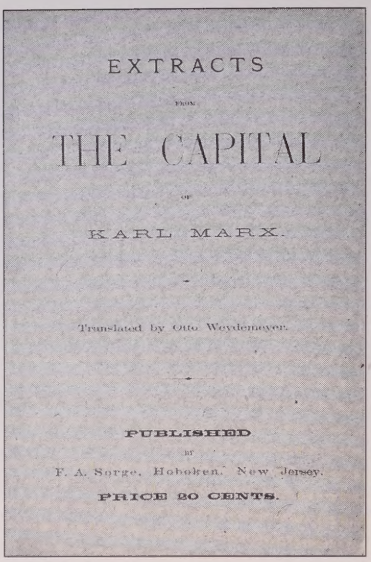
***Special edition calendars for 1935 and 1936 published by the CPC's weekly paper,* The Worker.**

Case 1 Highlights

Karl Marx. **Extracts from The Capital of Karl Marx.** *Translated by Otto Weydemeyer. Hoboken, New Jersey: F.A. Sorge, [1878]*

This rare pamphlet is among the earliest known English translations of selections from Marx's magnum opus, *Das Kapital*, the central text in Marxist economic and political analysis. The Kenny collection also includes the first complete English text of *Das Kapital*, Vols.1 and 2, published in England in 1887.

The compilation of extracts on display was published by Marx's long-time friend, comrade, and American correspondent, Friedrich Sorge. A socialist activist, he organized German-American workers into trade unions in New York City and, in 1868, established the American section of the International Workingmen's Association, the first international socialist body, founded by Marx and Engels in 1864.[4]


EXTRACTS

FROM

THE CAPITAL

OF

KARL MARX.

Translated by Otto Weydemeyer.

PUBLISHED

BY

F. A. Sorge, Hoboken, New Jersey.

PRICE 20 CENTS.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. **Manifesto of the Communist Party.** *Vancouver: Whitehead Estate, [1919]*

Published by the SPC, this is the first Canadian edition of Marx and Engels's famed pamphlet. Canadian socialists had previously obtained European Marxist works from the Chicago publisher Charles H. Kerr & Company[5]. As Robert S. Kenny explained in an article on this prized holding in his collection,[6] wartime book bans by the Canadian government and the timely infusion of money from the estate of a late comrade, George Whitehead, led the SPC to publish its own editions of the Marxist classics. This pamphlet was part of a series which included works by Marx, Engels and Anton Pannekoek.

Vladimir Lenin. **Peresmotr agrarnoi programmy rabochei partii** *[St. Petersburg]: Nasha Mysl, 1906. (Fisher Library, James Mavor Collection)*

The Bolsheviks, the revolutionary wing of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), considered a radical solution of the peasant question the chief economic aim of the democratic revolution. They advocated capitalist development in the countryside through the nationalization of land as a means of sweeping away the feudal remnants of Russian society and uniting peasants and workers against Tsarism.

This is the first edition of a pamphlet by Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin, written in support of the Bolshevik draft submitted to the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the RSDLP.[7]

Gustavus Myers. **History of Canadian Wealth.** *Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, c1914.*

Gustavus Myers's muckraking history of Canadian capitalism shaped the political and economic ideas of a generation of socialists and trade unionists. Broadly Marxist in outlook, it was one of the first radical social histories of Canada.

The Class Struggle. *Vol.II, No.5, December 1918. New York: Socialist Publication Society, 1918.*

Edited by Louis Boudin, Ludwig Lore and Louis Fraina, this journal, published from 1917–1919, was one of the first socialist publications in North America to galvanize support for the revolutionary communist ideas of the Russian Bolsheviks. The 1918 issue on display contains Lenin's "A Letter to American Workingmen", an influential call for international solidarity for the Russian Revolution, and Maxim Gorki's eloquent account of revolutionary events in Russia.

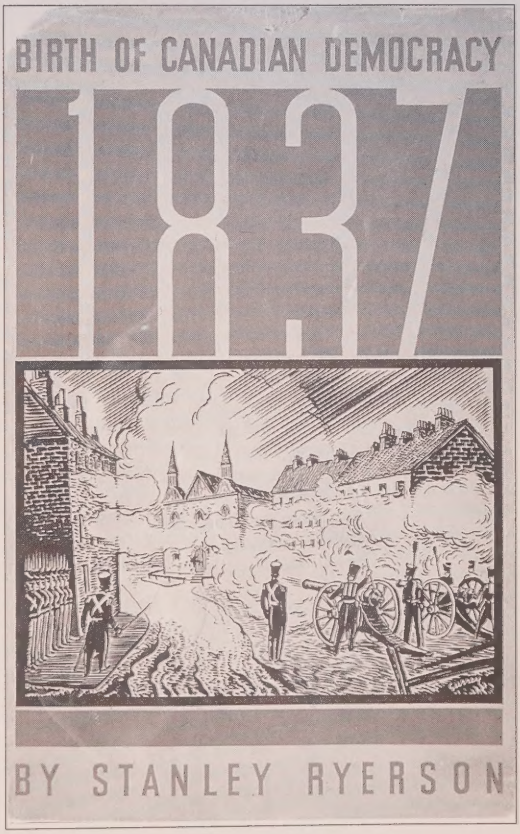
The Class Struggle's chief editor, Louis Fraina, was an Italian-American socialist intellectual. By the ripe age of 26, he had already edited *Modern Dance,* an important collection of writings by Russian Bolsheviks and several groundbreaking revolutionary socialist periodicals, as well as penning numerous articles and several books on modernist art and culture, jazz and rag-time music, the fight against sexism and racism, and the centrality of working-class revolution.[8]

A founder of the Communist Party of America in 1919—one of the two parties that would merge into the Communist Party of the United States—Fraina left the Communist movement in 1922 and later emerged in the 1930s as a left liberal academic under the name Lewis Corey.

Stanley Ryerson. **1837: The Birth of Canadian Democracy.** *Toronto: Francis White Pub., [1937]*

Ryerson was the CPC's leading intellectual from the 1930s through the 1960s. He was a prodigious writer, popularizer of socialist ideas, educator and party leader. His writings on the rebellions of 1837, French Canada and confederation have been lauded as pioneering efforts to apply Marxist analysis to Canadian social history.[9]

This book on democratic struggles against oppression in Quebec was dedicated "To the men of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion Fighting on the Battle-Field of Democratic Spain".



Helen Keller. **Helen Keller, Her Socialist Years: Writings and Speeches.** *Edited with an introduction by Philip S. Foner. New York: International Publishers, c1967.*

Unable to hear or see, Helen Keller overcame tremendous adversity to lead the movement for disabled rights in America. Popularly known as a brilliant educator and author, Keller was also a dedicated socialist. She joined the Socialist Party of America in 1909 and was a prominent writer and propagandist for socialism through the 1920s.

The book is open at the end of the article "How I Became a Socialist", originally published in the New York *Call* in November 1912, in which Keller sarcastically countered the anti-socialist invectives of mainstream journalists by writing: "It may be that deafness and blindness incline one toward socialism. Marx was probably stone deaf and William Morris was blind".

Albert Einstein. **Why Socialism?** *Vancouver: Spartacus Books, [1972?] (Fisher Library, Einstein Collection)*

Originally published in 1949 as the introduction to the first issue of the independent socialist magazine, *Monthly Review,* and here displayed in a Canadian reprint, this article by the brilliant physicist Einstein trenchantly criticized the economic and social anarchy of capitalist society. He believed that socialism was the only rational and humane system of economic and social organization.

Tim Buck. **Canada and the Russian Revolution: The Impact of the World's First Socialist Revolution on Labor and Politics in Canada.** *Toronto: Progress Books, 1967.*

A machinist by trade, Buck emigrated to Canada from Britain in 1910. He served in the 1920s as the trade union director of the CPC and was General Secretary of the party from 1929 to 1962, earning him the designation 'Canada's Lenin'. A prolific writer and propagandist, Buck was the most prominent Canadian communist of the century.

This book on Canada and the Russian Revolution charts the electrifying effect of the 1917 Russian Revolution on the workers' movement in Canada and the lessons for Canadian communists. The copy on display is a signed presentation copy from the author.[10]

Kari Levitt. **Canada: Economic Dependence and Political Disintegration.** *[Winnipeg]: Canadian Dimension, [1969]*

A member of the Communist Party in the 1950s, Kari Levitt was also a founder of the 'New Canadian Political Economy'.[11] A fusion of Marxism and Harold Innis's staples theory, this approach to political economy focused on Canada's dependent economic position, the power of economic élites, and the defining influence of geography and culture on economic life. This 'left nationalist' analysis fitted closely with the CPC's denunciations of American domination of Canada's economy in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

This pamphlet, originally published in *New World Quarterly*, outlines the basis for the comprehensive argument developed in the author's influential book *Silent Surrender: The Multinational Corporation in Canada*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1970.

CASE 2

SINKING ROOTS

THE ORIGINS OF CANADIAN COMMUNISM

Wild disorder, incendiary speeches, clamours for general strikes and an accompanying ribaldry beggaring description, directed against all forms of government, marked last night's meeting of the Toronto District Labor Council.

***Toronto Daily News*, February 7, 1919**

SUCH WAS THE OPINION OF A NEWSPAPER REPORTER ON THE TUMULTUOUS social unrest that rocked Canadian society after the end of the First World War. Across the country, mass meetings, demonstrations, and strikes erupted over unemployment, housing shortages, employer attacks on wages and working conditions, censorship and the lack of democracy. Impassioned calls for solidarity with the Russian and German revolutions were received enthusiastically by large groups of workers. As Gregory S. Kealey shows in his detailed look at Canada's 'Red Year', 1919 witnessed a widespread working-class dissatisfaction with the existing order of society.[1] It was in this context that arguments for a new type of socialist organization in Canada found a wide hearing.

In 1914, the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) and the Social Democratic Party of Canada (SDP) were the two major socialist organizations in the country with approximately 3,000 members each.[2] They both took formal positions against the war raging in Europe.

The SPC had sunk roots in western Canada among miners and skilled workers in the cities with its uncompromising advocacy of militant class struggle against capitalism. In theory, they had a Marxist programme which called for revolution and nothing else. In practice, they were actively involved in strikes and struggles for immediate reforms such as the eight-hour day, free speech and workers' compensation laws, as well as promoting the longer-term projects of education and organization necessary to prepare the working class to take over state power.

The SDP was formally Marxist yet it accommodated a range of political beliefs. The majority of its members were immigrants organized in language fed-

erations—Ukrainians, Poles, Finns and Jews—and stood for working-class revolution. Its largely Anglo-Canadian leaders were influenced by a range of ideas, including Christian socialism. Like the SPC, it attracted a considerable number of trade unionists, including James "Jimmy" Simpson, an executive member of the federal labour body, the Trades and Labour Congress, and a successful municipal politician in Toronto from the 1910s to the 1930s.

During the war, a combination of state repression, the victories and defeats of the labour movement, and deep-seated internal disputes over events in the international workers' movement, threw the existing socialist movement into crisis. By 1918, the newspapers and literature of the SPC and SDP were banned and many of their members were deported or arrested. The weight of repression and anti-German propaganda during the war provoked several high-profile defections of SPC and SDP leaders to the pro-war side. The stormy atmosphere of the war crisis soon led to sharp disagreements over strike strategy and tactics, and the necessity of working-class revolution. Many SDP leaders devoted their energies to forming a parliamentary party along the lines of the British Labour Party while their immigrant rank-and-file pushed for revolutionary action to overthrow capitalism.

Working-class revolution in Russia in 1917 introduced a fiery element into the equation. The conquest of state power by a working class led by Marxists had an electrifying effect upon socialists around the world. It showed radicals that revolution was not a distant prospect, but a real living possibility. For many socialists, the Bolsheviks had restored the central idea of Marxism: that revolutionaries must intervene in society as an active force and lead the working class to revolution. While support for the Russian Revolution was voiced by all currents in the labour and socialist movement, the issue would eventually expose fundamental disagreements among socialists over the question of reform or revolution.

The rift between moderate socialists committed to the reform of capitalism and revolutionaries dedicated to its overthrow created a political vacuum on the left. In late 1918, a short-lived Communist Party was formed by a small number of anarcho-syndicalists, and disgruntled members of the SDP and the Socialist Party of North America (SPNA), a revolutionary group based in southern Ontario. It distributed revolutionary leaflets in a number of cities in southern Ontario, but it crumbled when its leaders were arrested in 1919 for seditious activity.

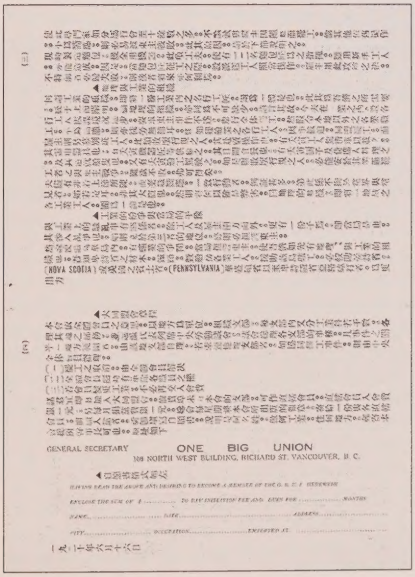
The desire for a revolutionary party did not subside. The remnants of the SDP left and the SPNA formed two public propaganda groups in Ontario and Quebec, the Ontario Labor College and the Plebs League in 1920, while privately discussing a Bolshevik-type party. Focusing on Marxist education for workers, its leaders included future CPC notables such as Maurice Spector, Becky Buhay, Florence Custance, Annie Buller and Tom Bell. The Plebs League formed a Canadian section of the United Communist Party of America (UCPA)—the largely English-speaking communist party formed in the United States in 1919.

Meanwhile, Finnish and Ukrainian workers from the former language federations in the SDP joined the Communist Party of America (CPA)—the UCPA's rival in the United States. The CPA was successful in recruiting a number of labour militants who were searching for a political home to the left of the moderate independent labour parties formed after the war by the right-wing of the SDP. These included the prominent unionists and future CPC leaders John "Jack" MacDonald,

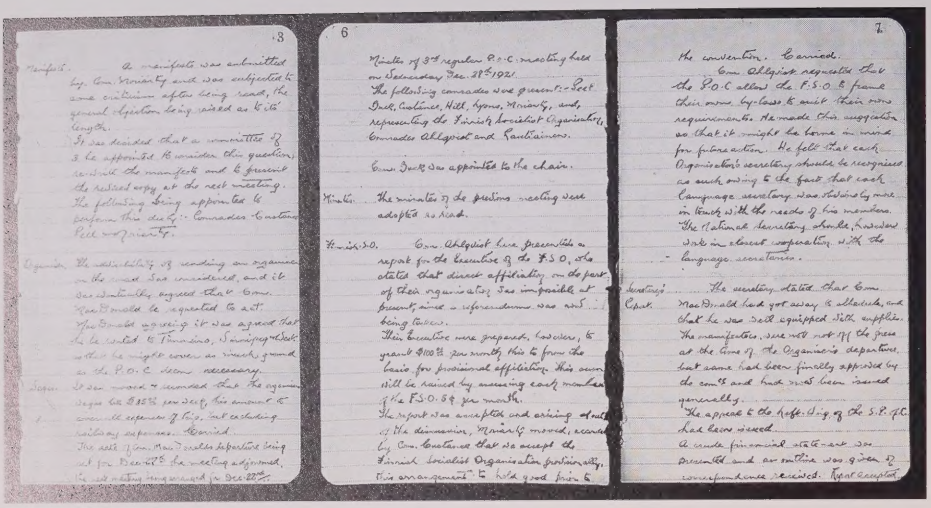
Tim Buck, Fred Peel, Joe Knight, Sarah Knight and Robert Shoesmith.

With the encouragement of the North American representative of the Communist International (Comintern), delegates from the CPA, the UPCA and the SPC gathered in Guelph in May 1921 to unite the various communist currents into an underground Communist Party of Canada. In early 1922, numerous western Canadian locals of the Socialist Party of Canada, and prominent trade unionists such as Jack Kavanagh, voted to join the party. In February 1922, an open, public organization, the Workers' Party of Canada (WPC), was founded. That same year, the party formally affiliated to the Comintern. With the motto 'No Struggle Too Small, No Struggle Too Great' the new party united revolutionaries from coast to coast on the basis of internationalism, militant class struggle and proletarian revolution.[3]

Due to state repression, the party had to change its name several times to protect itself from legal prosecution. The Communist Party was made illegal in 1931 under Section 98 of the Criminal Code (repealed in 1936), and in 1940 under the War Measures Act. The official names were as follows: Communist Party of Canada (1921–22); Workers' Party of Canada (1922–1924); Communist Party of Canada (1924–1942); Tim Buck Plebiscite Committee (1942); Dominion Communist-Labor Total War Committee (1942–1943); Labor-Progressive Party (1943–1959). Since 1959, the organization has been known once again as the Communist Party of Canada.


GENERAL SECRETARY ONE BIG UNION 108 NORTH WEST BUILDING, RICHARD ST. VANCOUVER, B. C.

Da Tong Mong Hui ***(1920).***
This leaflet urges Chinese workers to join the One Big Union.



Earliest existing minutes of the Communist Party of Canada, December 1921.

Case 2 Highlights

Workers' Party of Canada. Minutes of a Provisional Organizing Committee (POC) meeting in Toronto. Page 3, dated ca. December 1921.

According to the noted bibliographer of Canadian radicalism, Peter Weinrich, these are the earliest known surviving minutes of the WPC/CPC.[4] Handwritten on lined notebook paper, detached from the original covers, and in the hand of Florence Custance, they outline the party's proposed manifesto and the hiring of Jack MacDonald to undertake an organizing tour of northern Ontario and western Canada.

Henry George at Massey Music Hall. Friday March 1, 1895. *[Toronto; Jno. P. McKenna, 1895]*

Henry George was a popular American reformer, propagandist and lecturer. He believed that private ownership of land was the chief reason for inequality and so advocated a 'single tax' to redistribute wealth and undercut the power of landlords. In the wake of a nation-wide strike movement led by the Knights of Labor, George ran for Mayor of New York City in 1886 on a labour ticket. His campaign garnered mass support among workers and signaled the entry of working-class parties into the American political arena.[5] Throughout the 1890s, he attracted large working-class audiences across the continent.

This broadside, printed in red and black, advertised a lecture by George at Massey Music Hall in Toronto and included a short article by Leo Tolstoy praising

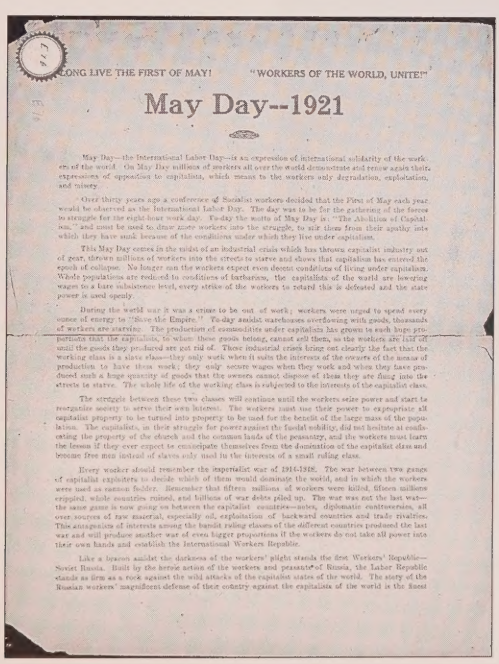
George's 'single tax' policy. It was published by the Toronto bookseller, John P. McKenna, who also took the opportunity to prominently advertise George's books for sale at his Yonge St. establishment.

Photograph of delegates to the Port Arthur Convention of the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada, 1914.

This is a photograph of what was probably the first national convention of the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada (FSOC). Later known as the Finnish Organization of Canada, it was formed in 1911 by radical Finnish immigrants to Canada as a social, cultural and political association. The FSOC contained several charter locals of the SDP; its members were also active in the SPC and many of its members joined the CPC. They built substantial political and cultural networks among Finnish tailors in Toronto, and miners and bushworkers in numerous locales in northern Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. Their Sudbury-based paper, *Vapaus,* was published daily from 1928 to 1940.

Maurice Spector. **"Plea for Resurrection of International Polity Club"**, *The Varsity, January 3 (1918), 4.*

This is a copy of a letter by future CPC leader Maurice Spector which appeared in the University of Toronto's student newspaper during the last year of the First World War. Spector, a Ukrainian Jewish immigrant who came to Canada as an infant, was on the editorial board of the paper and published this letter without the knowledge of the other editors. The letter criticized the prevailing pro-war sentiment of the University of Toronto community and called for a just peace between the warring nations. It was signed: "Yours for revolt and in revolt, Karl Marx". The consequence was that the entire issue of the paper was suppressed, *The Varsity* fired Spector as an editor, and he was almost expelled from the University.[6] Subsequent letters to the editor criticized Spector's anti-war position and called into question his 'foreign' origins and loyalty to the country.



LONG LIVE THE FIRST OF MAY! "WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!"

May Day--1921

May Day—the International Labor Day—is an expression of international solidarity of the workers of the world. On May Day millions of workers all over the world demonstrate and renew again their expression of opposition to capitalism, which means to the workers only degradation, exploitation, and misery.

Over thirty years ago a conference of Socialist workers decided that the First of May each year would be observed as the International Labor Day. The day was to be for the gathering of the forces to struggle for the eight-hour work day. To-day the motto of May Day is: "The Abolition of Capitalism," and must be used to draw more workers into the struggle, to stir them from their apathy into which they have sunk because of the conditions under which they live under capitalism.

This May Day comes in the midst of an industrial crisis which has thrown capitalist industry out of gear, thrown millions of workers into the streets to starve and shows that capitalism has entered the epoch of collapse. No longer can the workers expect even decent conditions of living under capitalism. Whole populations are reduced to conditions of barbarism. The capitalists of the world are lowering wages to a bare subsistence level, every strike of the workers to retard this is defeated and the state power is used openly.

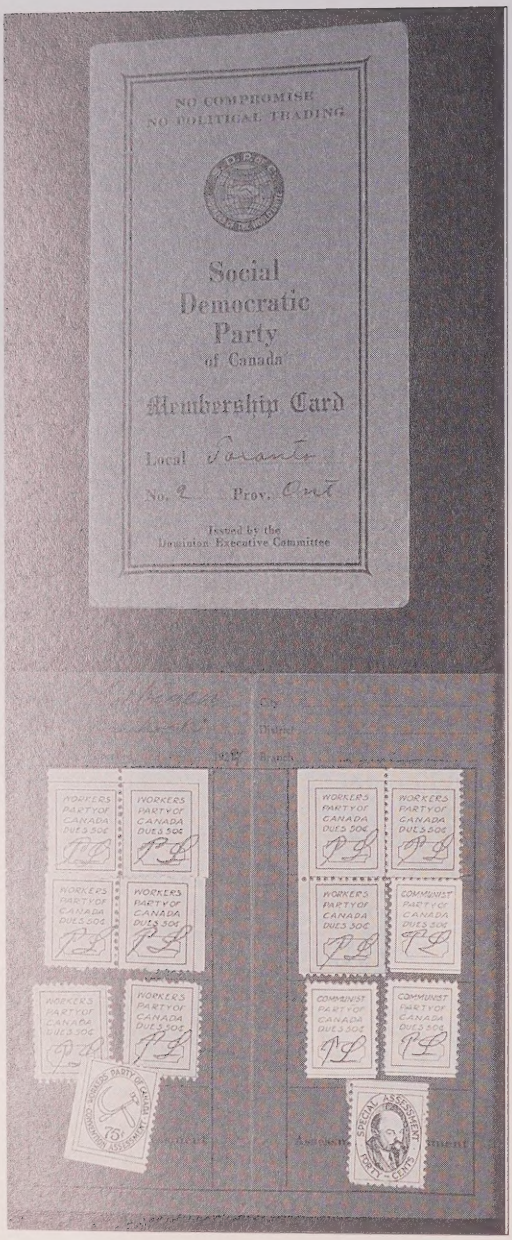
During the world war it was a crime to be out of work; workers were urged to spend every ounce of energy to "Save the Empire." To-day amidst warehouses overflowing with goods, thousands of workers are starving. The production of commodities under capitalism has grown to such huge proportions that the capitalists, to whom these goods belong, cannot sell them, so the workers are laid off until the goods they produced are got rid of. These industrial crises bring out clearly the fact that the working class is a slave class—they only work when it suits the interests of the owners of the means of production to have them work; they only secure wages when they work and when they have produced such a huge quantity of goods that the owners cannot dispose of them they are flung into the streets to starve. The whole life of the working class is subjected to the interests of the capitalist class.

The struggle between these two classes will continue until the workers seize power and start to reorganize society to serve their own interest. The workers must use their power to expropriate all capitalist property to be turned into property to be used for the benefit of the large mass of the population. The capitalists, in their struggle for power against the feudal nobility, did not hesitate at confiscating the property of the church and the common lands of the peasantry, and the workers must learn the lesson if they ever expect to emancipate themselves from the domination of the capitalist class and become free men instead of slaves only used in the interests of a small ruling class.

Every worker should remember the imperialist war of 1914-1918. The war between two gangs of capitalist exploiters to decide which of them would dominate the world, and in which the workers were used as cannon fodder. Remember that fifteen millions of workers were killed, fifteen millions crippled, whole countries ruined, and billions of war debts piled up. The war was not the last war—the same game is now going on between the capitalist countries—notes, diplomatic controversies, all over sources of raw material, especially oil, exploitation of backward countries and trade rivalries. This antagonism of interests among the bandit ruling classes of the different countries produced the last war and will produce another war of even bigger proportions if the workers do not take all power into their own hands and establish the International Workers Republic.

Like a beacon amidst the darkness of the workers' plight stands the first Workers' Republic—Soviet Russia. Built by the heroic action of the workers and peasants of Russia, the Labor Republic stands as firm as a rock against the wild attacks of the capitalist states of the world. The story of the Russian workers' magnificent defense of their country against the capitalists of the world is the finest

May Day broadside, Toronto 1921



Socialist Party of North America.
Membership card, *between 1911 – 1918.*

Intended to be completed in manuscript, this blank card also includes the SPNA's programme and constitution. The SPNA split from the SPC in 1911 because of the latter's support of legislative reforms and restrictions on Asian immigration. It had an 'impossibilist' programme, believing that reforms were not possible within capitalism. Yet its members were encouraged to join trade unions and fight for the party's politics in the labour movement. They were ardent supporters of the Russian Revolution and in 1918 published a widespread appeal to unite with other revolutionaries into a country-wide party. SPNA members Florence Custance and Tom Bell later played prominent roles in the CPC.

Da Tong Mong Hui *[One Big Union] [Vancouver: One Big Union, 1920]*

Alien Labor. *[Vancouver: One Big Union, ca. 1920]*

The One Big Union (OBU) was established in June 1919 in the wake of the Canadian labour upsurge. It was proposed at a meeting of labour militants in Calgary, the Western Labor Conference, as a radical alternative to the conservative, craft-dominated Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. It was led by members of the SPC who aimed to create a "socialist-led economic organization parallel to the socialist political organization ...".[7] Many future members of the CPC were active in the OBU, yet the Workers' Party of Canada broke with the 'revolutionary union' principle of the OBU, in favour of seeking to win influence among the majority of workers who remained in existing unions.

Membership cards of the Social Democratic Party and the Workers' Party of Canada. The SDP card belonged to Pelander Aina, Finnish Local No.2, Toronto, 1915-1917. The WPC card was issued to A. Pilkanen, branch unknown, in 1924. Both cards feature monthly dues stamps and special assessment stamps.

The OBU advocated the creation of an all-encompassing industrial union free from bureaucratic domination, and the organization of all workers regardless of occupation, sex, colour, or nationality. They had some success in organizing multi-racial lumber workers in British Columbia, skilled workers in Winnipeg, and miners in Alberta. OBU proponents W.A. Pritchard and R.B. Russell were leaders in the Winnipeg General Strike.

The first leaflet, written in Chinese, urged workers to join the OBU and support striking miners in the U.S. and Canada. *Alien Labor* was an appeal to British- and Canadian-born workers to reject racism and direct their energies against the common enemy, the capitalists. Organizing Chinese-speaking workers and defending the struggles of 'alien' workers marked an important step for a socialist movement that had, at best, previously failed to undertake a serious fight against the racism that divided workers.

Workers' Party of Canada. **Manifesto of the Workers [sic] Party of Canada on the Immediate Problems of Canadian Labor.** *[Toronto: Central Executive Committee, 1923]*

On its founding the WPC had 4,800 members, the majority from the Ukrainian, Finnish and Jewish socialist federations which joined the WPC en masse. The party published a regular newspaper and decided on a distinct set of policies and procedures. Issued by the Central Executive Committee, this broadside appears to be a later published version of the manifesto referred to in the minutes described above. It argued that the party should build militant trade unions and support strikes, participate in elections and the political life of the country through a national Labor Party, struggle against state repression, and lead the fight for immediate reforms while generalizing working-class struggles toward the building of a revolutionary party.

W.A. Pritchard's Address to the Jury in the Crown vs. Armstrong, Heaps, Bray, Ivens, Johns, Pritchard and Queen...Indicted for Seditious Conspiracy and Common Nuisance, Full Assizes, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada 1919-1920. [Winnipeg]: The Defense Committee, [1920]

On May 15, 1919 a city-wide general strike began in Winnipeg in support of striking metal and building trades workers. A clear majority of Winnipeg's workers participated in this, Canada's most celebrated strike. Strikers took over control of many of the city's regular functions such as the distribution of food and maintenance of public order. The strike leaders did not consider the general strike as an opportunity for revolution; they exercised tremendous caution, avoiding unduly provocative demonstrations and pitched conflicts with the government. Yet the strike captured the imagination and solidarity of workers across the country. Sympathy strikes were held in Calgary, Vancouver, Regina, Brandon, Port Arthur, Toronto, Amherst, Sydney and many smaller cities and towns.[8]

Despite the intentions of the strike's leaders, the Winnipeg General Strike created social shock waves that would rock the Canadian ruling class. They considered the general strike an outright act of 'Bolshevism' and responded with severe repression. The Mounties attacked a silent workers' parade, killing one and injuring thirty; legislation was passed in the House of Commons allowing immediate deportation of those suspected of sedition; and the entire Winnipeg Police Force, whose members supported the strike, were fired. The strike leaders were arrested and in a highly public and biased trial were convicted of seditious conspiracy.

This book was published by supporters of leading SPC member and OBU founder, W.A. Pritchard. It includes Pritchard's impassioned defense of workers' struggles and condemnation of the injustice of Canadian society.

CASE 3

'A PARTY OF A NEW TYPE'

BUILDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

Working men and women join the Workers' Party. The party of the working class vanguard, the Party of Communism.

Manifesto of the Workers' Party of Canada, 1923[1]

WHEN CPC FOUNDERS SET OUT TO FORM A 'PARTY OF A NEW TYPE', THEY had a number of goals in mind. Along with promoting the chief political principles of communism, the CPC also aimed to form a tightly organized and disciplined party able to lead the working class to revolution. Learning from the Bolsheviks that effective organization was essential to building the communist movement, the CPC established formal policies, procedures and organizational forms. Building a highly organized revolutionary party and continually increasing its numbers and influence was a central concern of the CPC.

Constitutions were regularly published in which the mechanics of the party's programme, leadership and organizational structure, and the responsibilities of the membership were outlined. Regular conventions, conferences and meetings of the party leadership were held to debate and decide the party's positions and incorporate the experience of the party's far-flung regions and diverse membership.

Most people's contact with the party, including that of its members, was through the party press. Largely sold through street sales and party events, the party's newspaper was a central organizing tool—not only did it present the party's politics, it was intended to link together workers and militants, and build support for working-class struggles at home and abroad. After a series of short-lived newspapers—*The Communist, Workers' World,* and *Workers' Guard*—the WPC launched a weekly in 1922, *The Worker*, which lasted until 1936. For two years the Party published the *Daily Clarion* and from 1938 to 1940 the weekly *Clarion.* During war-time repression the weekly *Tribune* appeared, becoming a daily for one year in 1946, and continuing as a weekly until the 1990s. The party

Leading CPC members, Florence Custance, Bea Colle, Becky Buhay and Annie Buller, ca. 1920s.

also published weeklies and dailies at various times in French, Finnish, Ukrainian, Yiddish and Italian. In addition, many of the regions, clubs, and groups affiliated to the party published regular newspapers.

The party's political, social, and cultural journals routinely addressed the burning issues of the day. These monthly and quarterly organs often engaged with opposing viewpoints on the left, attempting to increase the party's influence with Canadian workers. CPC journals included the *Canadian Labor Herald, National Affairs Monthly, Communist Viewpoint, Horizons, New Advance, Marxist Quarterly, New Frontiers* and *Masses.*

In addition to literature intended for the general public, the CPC frequently published internal documents. These ranged from leaflets for party members on particular issues, to wider educational material and internal discussion bulletins. These were aimed at coordinating party work and recruitment, training the membership, and preparing for party conventions and conferences.

The Kenny collection contains an extensive selection of CPC constitutions, convention proceedings, newspapers, journals and internal literature from the 1920s through the 1990s.

Case 3 Highlights

Young Communist League of Canada. **Program, Constitution and Resolutions of the Young Communist League of Canada.** *Toronto: National Executive Committee, [1923]*

The Young Workers League (later the Young Communist League) was formed in 1923 and focused on issues affecting Canadian youth and the recruitment of young workers to the party. It published its own newspaper, *The Young Worker* (a weekly in the mid-1930s) and worked closely with the larger party. YCL members were active in farm communities, and among university and high-school students, and played prominent roles in important strikes in the 1930s and 1940s. The YCL was a key training ground for many future CPC leaders, including Tom Hill, William Kashtan, Norman Freed, Leslie Morris, Fred Rose and Elizabeth Hill.

Communist Party of Canada. **Rules for Underground Party Work.** *[Toronto: Communist Party of Canada, ca. 1932]*

This rare leaflet was distributed to CPC members during the period of state repression of the party in the early 1930s. It instructs members to use the utmost secrecy when undertaking party work and warns that "The unpardonable crime in underground party work is the betrayal of it or of its workers".

New Members' Study Course. *Issued by the Publicity & Education Dept., Dominion Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada. [Toronto]: the Party, December 1936.*

The CPC put much emphasis on the political education of its members. Along with the party press, formal meetings and events, the party also regularly undertook study groups. This study course, consisting of fourteen leaves of mimeographed text stapled within card covers, contained lessons on "Canada, Our Country—and the Platform of the Communist Party", "The Communist Party: How It is Built and How It Works", and "Marxism-Leninism—The Theory and Tactics of the International Working-class".

Stewart Smith. **A Manual on Party Branch Work.** *Second edition. [Toronto]: National Educational and Publicity Department, Communist Party of Canada, [1938]*

This detailed pamphlet lays out the structures and internal procedures of party branch work including dues collection, content and conduct of branch meetings, and elections of officers.

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) Short Course. *Edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.), Authorized by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.). Toronto: Francis White Pub., 1939.*

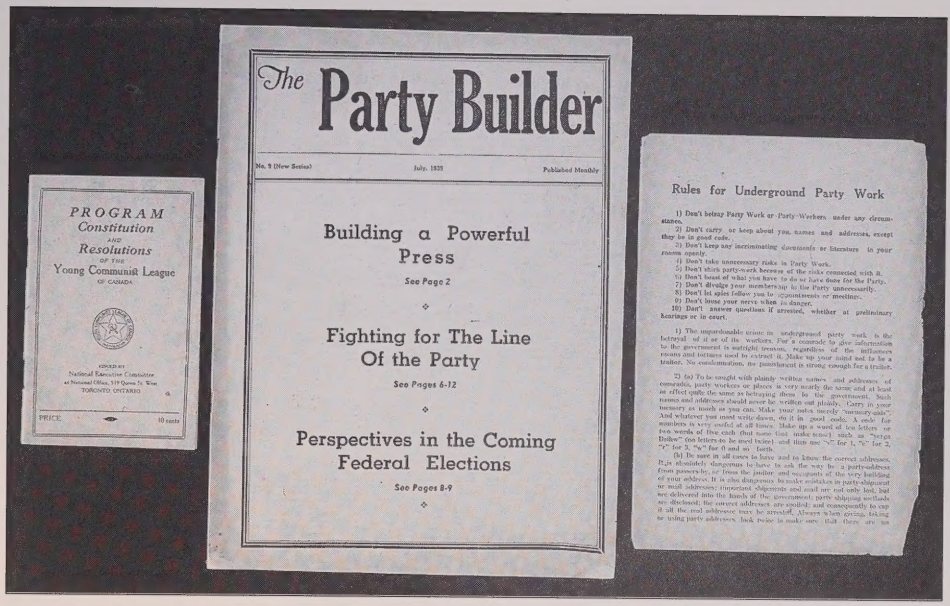
The 'Short Course', as it was popularly known, was the official Soviet version of the history of the Bolshevik Party. This Canadian edition was used extensively in CPC study groups from the 1930s to the 1950s.

National Affairs Monthly. *Vol.II, No.6 (July-August 1945). Toronto: National Committee of the Labor-Progressive Party, 1945.*

This issue of the party's monthly political journal contains Tim Buck's article "Jacques Duclos on the Revision of Marxism"—an interpretation of the momentous reorganization of the Communist Party of the United States in 1945.

Labor-Progressive Party. **Organizational Statements [on] Dues, Initiation, Membership Books, Clubs, Convention Assessment, Literature.** *[Toronto: Labor-Progressive Party, 1946]*

This mimeographed document, issued for the second national convention of the LPP, has detailed information on the size and scope of the party following the end of the war. In 1946, the LPP had 478 clubs with fifty-seven in Toronto alone. The number of membership books sold, a reasonable estimate of those who had joined the party from 1943–45, totaled over 33,000. During the war, the party published a total of 500,000 copies of twelve separate pamphlets.



PROGRAM
Constitution
AND
Resolutions
OF THE
Young Communist League
OF CANADA

ISSUED BY
National Executive Committee
at National Office, 319 Queen St. West
TORONTO, ONTARIO

PRICE 10 cents

The Party Builder

No. 9 (New Series) July, 1939 Published Monthly

Building a Powerful Press
See Page 2

Fighting for The Line Of the Party
See Pages 6-12

Perspectives in the Coming Federal Elections
See Pages 8-9

Rules for Underground Party Work

1) Don't betray Party Work or Party Workers under any circumstances.

2) Don't carry, or keep about you, names and addresses, except they be in good code.

3) Don't keep any incriminating documents or literature in your rooms openly.

4) Don't take unnecessary risks in Party Work.

5) Don't think party-work because of the risks connected with it.

6) Don't boast of what you have to do or have done for the Party.

7) Don't divulge your membership in the Party unnecessarily.

8) Don't let spies follow you to appointments or meetings.

9) Don't loose your nerve when in danger.

10) Don't answer questions if arrested, whether at preliminary hearings or in court.

1) The unpardonable crime in underground party work is the betrayal of it or of its workers. For a comrade to give information to the government is outright treason, regardless of the influences means and methods used to extract it. Make up your mind not to be a traitor. No condemnation, no punishment is strong enough for a traitor.

2) (a) To be sought with plainly written names and addresses of comrades, party workers or places is very nearly the same and at least as effect spells the same as betraying them to the government. Such names and addresses should never be written out plainly. Carry in your memory as much as you can. Make your notes merely "memory aids". And whatever you must write down, do it in good code. A code for numbers is very useful at all times. Make up a word of ten letters or two words of five each (but none that make sense) such as "seven Bother" (no letters to be used twice) and then use "1" for 1, "b" for 2, "r" for 3, "s" for 0 and so forth.

(b) Be sure in all cases to have and to know the correct addresses. It is absolutely dangerous to have to ask the way to a party-address from passers-by, or from the janitor and occupants of the very building of your address. It is also dangerous to make mistakes in party-shipment or mail addresses; important shipments and mail are not only lost, but are delivered into the hands of the government; party shipping methods are disclosed; the correct addresses are avoided; and consequently to cap it all the real addresses may be arrested. Always when giving, taking or using party addresses, look twice to make sure that there are no

Photograph of leading CPC members, Florence Custance, Bea Colle, Becky Buhay and Annie Buller, ca. 1920s.

Make the "New Approach" to Party Building a Reality! *Decision of the Eastern Canada Party Building Conference, September 8, 1951. [Toronto: Labor-Progressive Party, 1951]*

As a result of the intense repression of Canadian communists in the late 1940s and 1950s, the influence of the LPP began to wane, especially in the trade unions. In June 1951 the party decided to make a turn 'outward' to broaden its support in the working-class movement. In this way, it sought to build a base to defend itself against state harassment and rebuild the party.

The mimeographed document on display emphasizes the turn to "factory work—to build the industrial and shop clubs as the strong backbone of Party organization". This was to be accomplished by fighting for a "living, political relationship between our members and non-Party workers in the plants". The clubs were expected to produce more shop papers and leaflets and actively recruit new members on the basis of support for industrial struggles, the party's position for a 'Pact for Peace' with the Soviet bloc, and opposition to American control of the Canadian economy.

The Party Builder. *No.9 (New Series) (July 1939).*

Party Woman. *Bulletin No.5 (June 1954).*

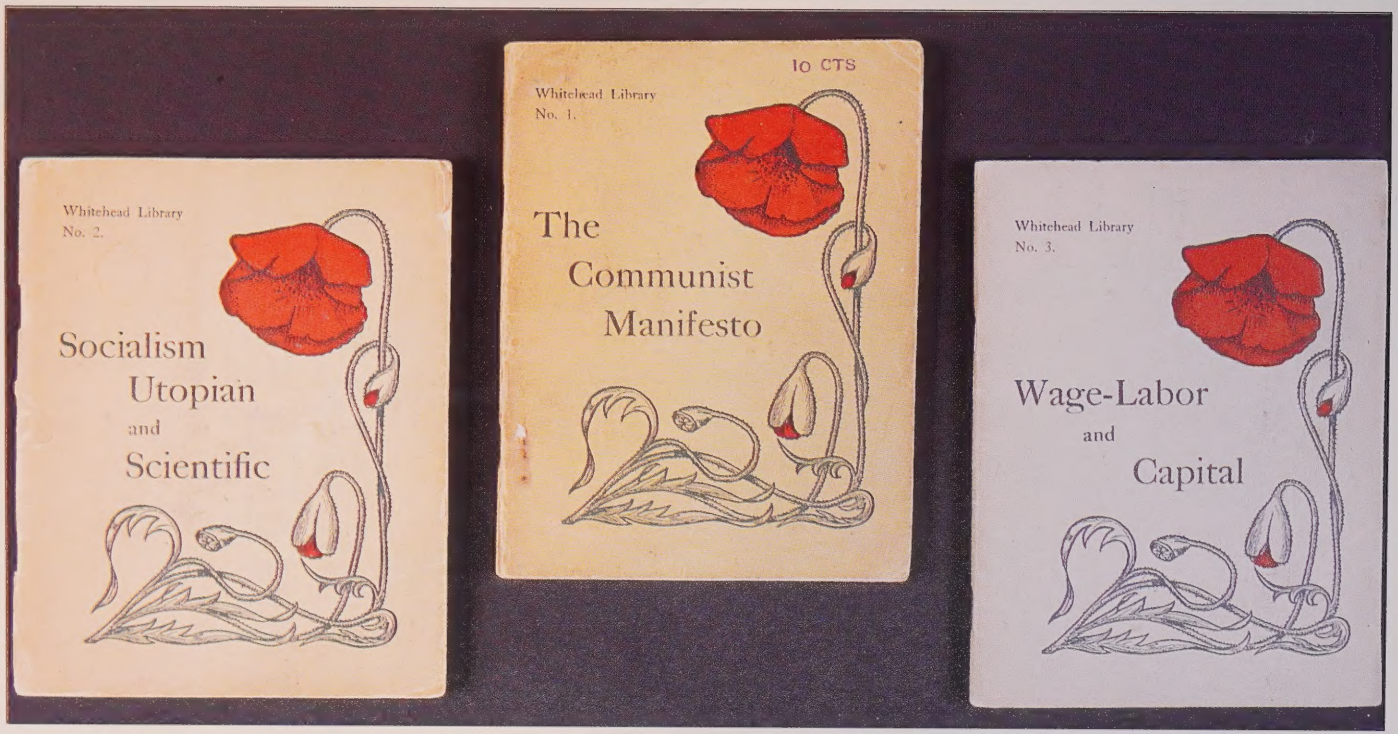
Discussion. *Published by the Dominion Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada [for the Eighth Dominion Convention October 8-11, 1937] Issue No.3.*

Three examples of monthly bulletins aimed to organize various areas of party activity.

Ward 5 Club, Toronto, Communist Party of Canada. Minute book. Page dated April 27, 1972.

This loose-leaf typewritten minute book, covering the period from October 1971 to January 1973, and recorded by club secretary Robert S. Kenny, outlines the key events in the club's work. The minutes on display include a discussion of the Quebec General Strike and the CPC's federal election campaign of 1972.

Tim Buck addressing a crowd, ca. 1935.

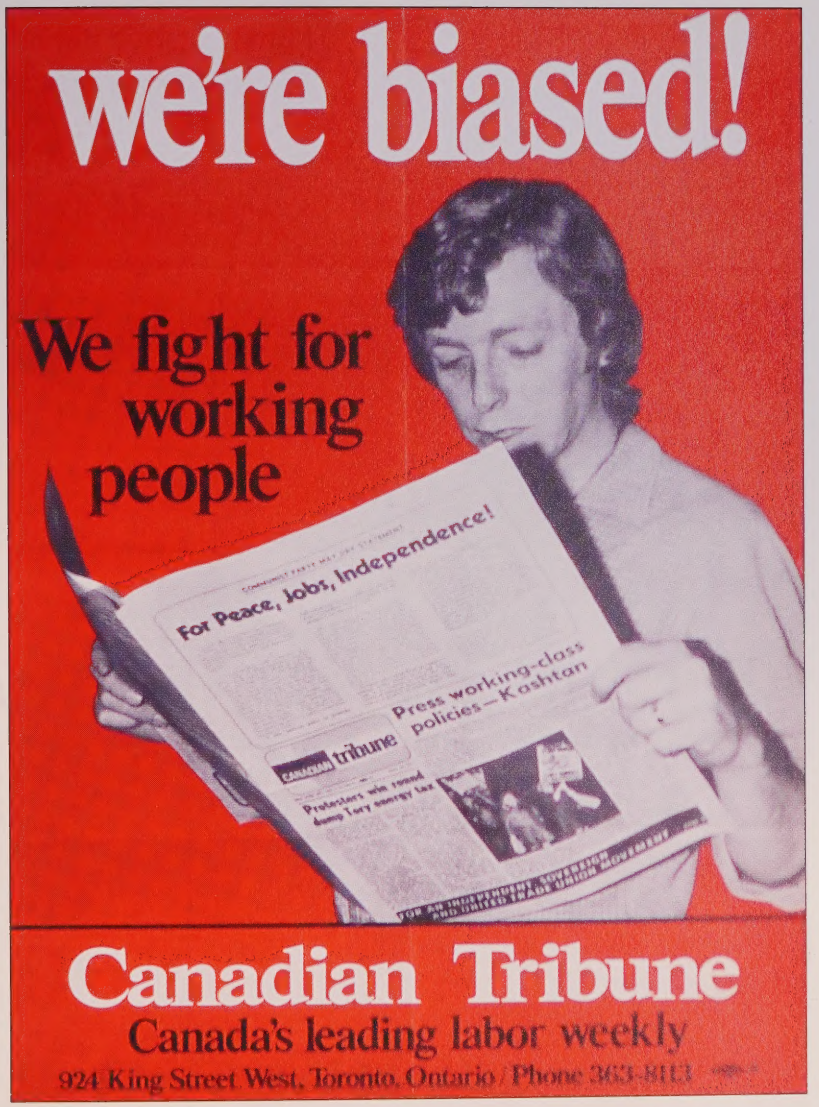


Pamphlets by Marx and Engels published by the Socialist Party of Canada, 1919.

Ribbons commemorating various CPC events.

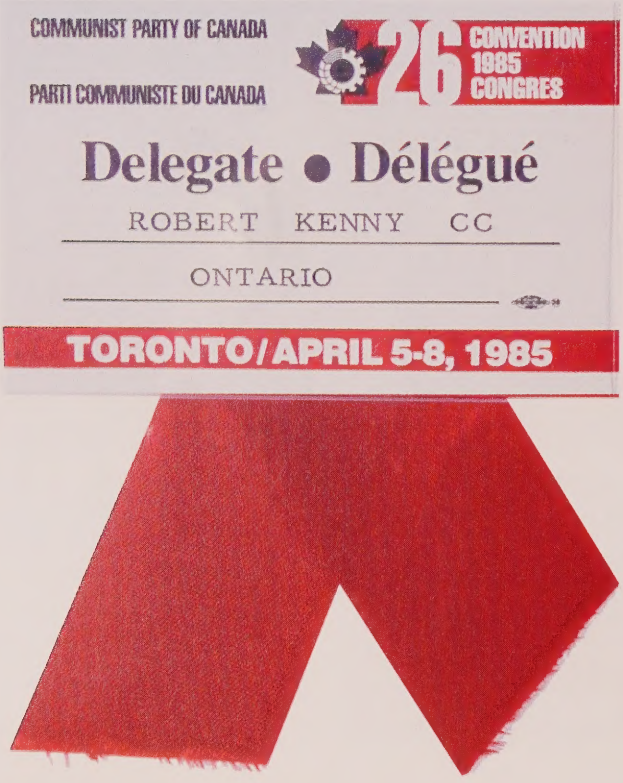
An International Brigades poster from the Spanish Civil War, 1937.

Three CPC posters.



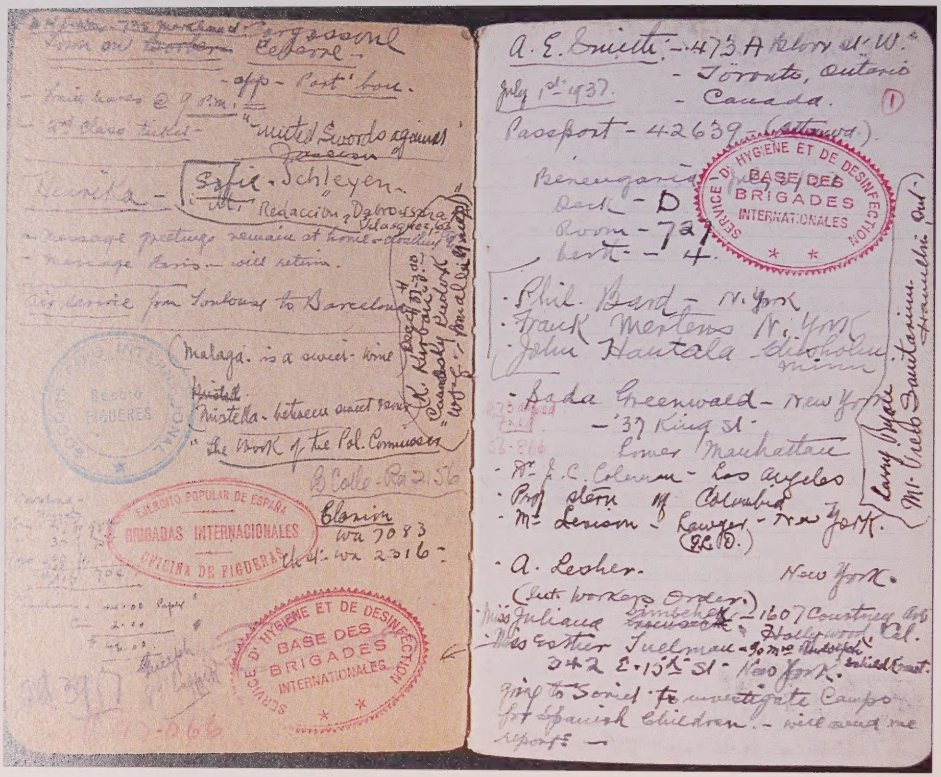
Promotional poster for the CPC's weekly paper,* The Tribune, *ca. 1960s.

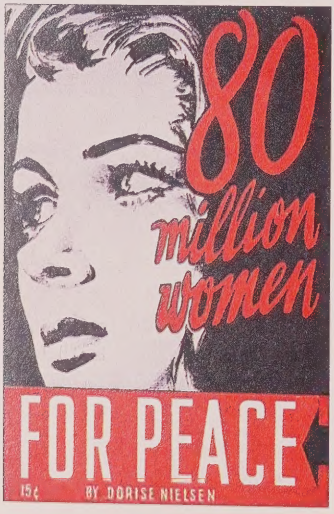
Two buttons commemorating International Women's day (1978) and solidarity with the Spanish Civil War (ca. 1938), and Robert S. Kenny's delegate badge to the 1985 CPC convention.

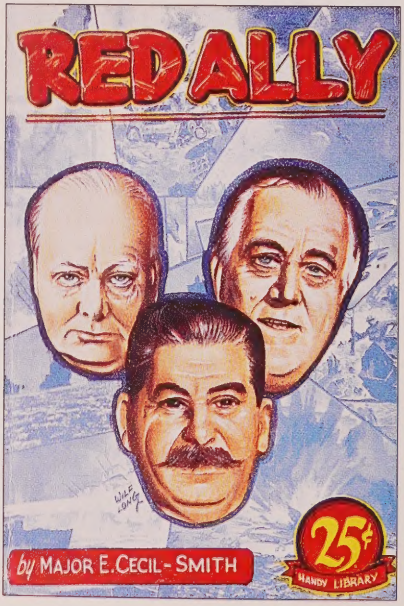


A Hungarian poster (ca. 1952) celebrating Soviet leader Joseph Stalin.

Overleaf: A.E. Smith's notebook from his trip to Spain in 1937. Also Dorise Nielsen's 80 Million Speak for Peace *(1949), and E. Cecil Smith's* Red Ally *(1941).*


Safie Schleyen
Redaccion, Diputacion
Malaga is a sweet wine
Bcn Calle Rda 21.56
Glorieta
Wa 7083
Wa 2316
EJERCITO POPULAR DE ESPAÑA
BRIGADAS INTERNACIONALES
OFICINA DE FIGUERAS
SERVICE D'HYGIENE ET DE DESINFECTION
BASE DES BRIGADES INTERNATIONALES
A. E. Smith - 475 A Bloor St. W.
- Toronto, Ontario
- Canada.
July 1st 1937.
Passport - 42639
Phil. Bard - N. York
Frank Mertens N. York
John Hautala Chisholm Minn
Sadie Greenwald - New York
- 37 King St.
Lower Manhattan
Mr. J. C. Coleman - Los Angeles
Prof. Stern U of Columbia
Mr. Leroom - Lawyer - New York.
(Q.B.D.)
A. Lesher. New York.
(Int. Workers Order)
Miss Juliana Simchek - 1607 Courtney Ave
Hollywood Cal.
Miss Esther Juelman - 90 Mc Alpin
242 E. 15th St - New York.
Ship to Soviet to investigate Campo
for Spanish Children. - will send me
reports -
Larry Myers
Mt. Creek Sanitarium
Hamilton Ont.


80
million
women
FOR PEACE
15¢
BY DORISE NIELSEN


RED ALLY
by MAJOR E. CECIL-SMITH
25¢
HANDY LIBRARY

CASE 4

ORGANIZING THE WORKING CLASS

TRADE UNIONS AND RADICAL POLITICS

The complete solidarity of the miners in Nova Scotia in carrying on their striking on the job policy is the most wonderful and hopeful thing that has ever taken place in the industrial history of this province, and when the final conflict comes for the final uprooting of the cursed system that is starving out people in a land of plenty, the Mine Workers of Nova Scotia shall take an effective hand in that conflict.

J.B. McLachlan, *The Worker*, May 1, 1922.

TRADE UNIONS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN THE BACKBONE OF THE WORKING-CLASS movement. Formed to defend wages and working conditions, they also became potentially powerful political organizations to advance working-class interests. Revolutionaries in Canada have often cut their teeth in union politics, and considered rooting themselves in these basic organizations of workers a prime political goal. Winning influence in the trade union movement and uniting unions in a common struggle against capitalism was regarded as the major task of socialists. Communists played an integral role in building the union movement and were in the forefront of many of the important labour struggles in twentieth-century Canada.

The early CPC followed the advice in Lenin's influential pamphlet *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*,[1] first published in 1920, and rejected the attempt to form separate unions for revolutionary workers, as advocated by the OBU. They concentrated instead on winning influence within existing unions. Lenin argued that communists would become isolated from the masses if they attempted to found pure 'red' unions. The newly-formed communist party set out to build a revolutionary current in existing unions, to work towards the amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions, and to oppose dual unionism.

Working through the Canadian section of the U.S.-based Trade Union Educational League (TUEL), the party successfully built Communist fractions in a number of important industries, including the railroads, coal mines, metal mines and lumber camps. The party organized petitions and protest meetings in support of labour battles, and participated directly in a number of historic strikes in the early 1920s such as the heroic struggles of Cape Breton miners. The CPC's role in

building solidarity for strikes won the respect of many trade unionists and enabled it to recruit leading militants in the union movement, including the popular Nova Scotia miners' leader J.B. McLachlan. Many of the leaders of the early CPC were trade union militants, including Jack Kavanagh, Jack MacDonald, Tim Buck, Alex Gauld, Jan Lakeman, and Malcolm Bruce.

In 1929, the party made a sharp turn in trade union policy by forming the revolutionary union body, the Workers Unity League (WUL). The WUL was created after a decision by the Communist International that communists should form 'red' trade union federations in opposition to the existing reformist unions. Its creation was an aspect of the so-called 'Third Period' in international communism in which reformists and other varieties of socialists were regarded as enemies and labeled 'social fascists'.

Nova Scotia miners' leader and leading CPC member, J.B. McLachlan, ca. 1930.

The WUL was harshly critical of the conservative craft-dominated Trade and Labour Congress of Canada (TLC) and attempted to win members away from it in the process of building new revolutionary unions. Organizing the unemployed and building solidarity between employed and unemployed workers was also a central objective of the WUL. In the face of the harsh economic conditions and state repression of depression-era Canada, the WUL made some gains in organizing workers and fighting strikes. They successfully organized workers in the lumber industry, the garment trades and the mines. From 1930 to 1935, the WUL led the majority of strikes in Canada. These strikes were valiant fights, often pitting workers against the armed forces of the state. One celebrated case was the 1931 miners' strike led by a WUL union in Estevan, Saskatchewan, where three workers were killed in picket line violence.

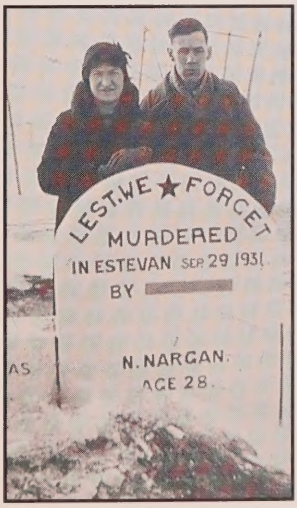
Historians are sharply divided in assessing the success of the WUL. Failure to work with other socialists and unionists isolated communists from the bulk of the working-class movement and led to difficulties winning respect and influence in the mainstream union movement when the WUL was disbanded later in the decade. Many WUL strikes and organizing campaigns ended in failure. But given the harsh conditions of the depression and the reluctance of existing labour bodies to even attempt to defend the working class, the WUL scored some notable victories. It was also largely responsible for organizing the mass movement of the unemployed, bringing unionism to many marginal occupations, and providing the impetus for the successful industrial union organization of workers in the automobile, steel, metal mining, rubber, electrical and other industries in the late 1930s and 1940s.

From the mid-1930s to the 1940s, the CPC pursued a 'popular front' policy which stressed militancy and unity with a broad range of 'progressive' forces. CPC members were heavily involved in the industrial union drive of the late

1930s and the creation of the Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL), an industrial union rival to the TLC. The party successfully built fractions in all the major industrial unions and many TLC unions. Communists occupied key posts in the leadership of many city-wide trades councils and numerous unions including the International Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union (Mine Mill), the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE), the International Woodworkers of America (IWA), and the Canadian Seamen's Union. They held important positions in the United Autoworkers, the United Steelworkers of America and the United Textile Workers of America. Party members were active participants in many of the strikes of these decades.

The CPC faced a serious challenge in the late 1940s. The anti-communist hysteria that heralded the onset of the 'Cold War' between the Soviet Union and western countries was played out at a local level in the unions, with negative consequences for the party and the workers' movement. The state undertook massive repression of communists, making use of tactics such as censorship and imprisonment of party leaders, and encouraging employers to fire party members. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the CPC's major political rival in the union movement, eagerly joined the crusade to purge the union movement of communists, often resorting to anti-democratic measures and collusion with the employer and the state. By 1953, all unions that had refused to purge CPC supporters were expelled from both the TLC and the CCL. The expulsion of the organized left during labour's 'Cold War' brought a new, more conservative group of union leaders into power. It constituted a major setback for the labour movement by hindering the organization of the unorganized, and allowing employers to play off workers against each other.

Several allegedly Communist-dominated unions such as Mine Mill and UE survived the purges of the 1950s and party members remained active in unions. While their influence was vastly reduced, CPC members were essential to the left-wing minority in many unions through the 1980s.



Prominent CPC members, Annie Buller and Martin Forkin, standing behind the gravestone of one of three workers murdered during a 1931 miners' strike in Estevan, Saskatchewan.

THE CLARION
Railroaders' Voice
THE CRYING NEED—WAGE BOOSTS
The Needle Worker
CLOAKMAKERS! Stick To YOUR DEMANDS!!
NO MORE HUNGRY '30's!
Fight for '15 in '54
STOP the TESTS – OUTLAW the BOMB!

CPC "shop" papers from the 1950s.

Case 4 Highlights

The Labor Herald, *[Vol.1] (October 1922). Chicago: Trade Union Educational League, 1922.*

This issue of the influential U.S. communist magazine, published from 1922 to 1924, includes an article by Tim Buck on "The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union". The TUEL was established in 1920 by future CPUSA leader William Z. Foster. It advocated class struggle politics and industrial unionism, and successfully built a militant minority within a number of unions. Tim Buck was secretary of the Canadian section of the TUEL which was established in April 1922.[2] Within a year, it had active groups in numerous city labour councils and among workers in various industries. The CPC launched its own labour organ, Canadian *Labor Herald,* in 1928.

The Needle Worker. *(June 1957).*

The Spark. *Published by a group of LPP chemical workers. Vol.2, No.4 (December 1951).*

The Clarion. *Labor-Progressive Party shop paper of workers in the rubber industry. (May 1954).*

Railroader's Voice. *No.27 (September 1955).*

High Gear. *Issued by the Labor-Progressive Party. Vol.1, No.4 (May 1952).*

These mimeographed communist 'shop papers' were established in the late 1940s as a means of deepening and restoring the LPP's roots in the organized labour movement. Building a network of regular readers and supporters of shop papers was also a means to protect unions and their members from the Cold War hysteria unleashed against the left. These rank-and-file papers usually contained articles specific to conditions in the particular industry they were aimed at, as well as general comments on national politics.

Autonomy For Canadian Unionism. *[Toronto: Trade Union Educational League, Canadian Section, 1922]*

This broadsheet, possibly written by Tim Buck, argued that machinists, miners, and railway workers in international unions in Canada would be better served by autonomous Canadian unions.

Charles Sims. **Strike Strategy and Tactics.** *[Toronto: Workers' Unity League, 1934]*

Printing trade unionist Charles Sims was secretary in the 1930s of the Toronto city executive of the CPC, and the National Secretary of the WUL. Publicly identifying himself as a leading member of the LPP, he served as an alderman on Toronto City Council in the 1940s.

This mimeographed pamphlet reprints Sims's speech to the 1934 WUL convention. Sims argues that the strike strategy of the WUL is "in line" with Comintern trade union official Lozovsky's analysis, but is based on Canadian workers' struggles. It is highly critical of the existing trade union bureaucracy, emphasizing a "united front strategy from below", democratic strike committees, opposition to red-baiting, and the importance of organizing women and youth in solidarity with strike actions.

Postcard with photograph of J.B. McLachlan. The King Studio, ca. 1930s.

McLachlan was a popular trade unionist in the Cape Breton coal fields who joined the CPC in 1922. In the context of heated class conflict in the 1920s and 1930s, McLachlan and other communists helped build a rich 'Red' culture in the region.[3]

Photograph of CPC leaders, Pat Forkin and Annie Buller, at the grave of three workers—P. Markanas, N.Nargan, J.Gryshko—killed during the 1931 miners strike in Estevan.

The middle tombstone reads: "Lest We Forget, Murdered in Estevan, September 29, 1931 By [word blacked out]". The censored word "RCMP" was restored to the tombstone later in the century.

J.B. Salsberg. **Labor's Fight for a Better Canada: Problems on the Eve of the 1946 Conventions of Canada's Labor Union Congresses.** *Toronto: Labor-Progressive Party, [1946]*

This pamphlet was written in the context of the 1946 mass strike wave, conducted around wage demands, union recognition and the forty-hour week. The year 1946 witnessed the most days lost to strikes in Canadian history to that time. Successful strikes in the lumber mills, textile factories, rubber, electrical and steel plants seemed to herald a powerful position for labour in post-war Canadian society. The LPP argued for unity among the competing labour and socialist groups in the working-class movement, and a common position against U.S. domination of the Canadian economy.

J.B. Salsberg was a leader in the Industrial Union of Needle Trades Workers (IUNTW), a CPC-led union formed in 1928 by militants from Winnipeg, Montreal and Toronto who had been expelled from the conservative International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. It was one of the key unions affiliated to the WUL. Salsberg was later elected to Toronto City Council and the Ontario legislature under the LPP banner.

Photograph of women plywood workers on strike. *International Woodworkers of America (IWA) Local 1-357, New Westminster, British Columbia 1946.*

By the mid-1940s the CPC had established a strong foothold in the B.C. District of the IWA. IWA B.C. District president, Harold Pritchett, and first vice-president, Ernest Dalskog, were CPC members. Pritchett was the first Canadian to be elected District President of an international union, the IWA, in the North American industrial union federation, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The IWA won major concessions in its important 1946 strike against the big B.C. lumber companies.

Local 521, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. **The 521 Story at Canada Wire.** *[Hamilton: UE Local 521, 1953]*

This booklet details the Hamilton UE local's battle for a first contract in 1946 and its policies against discrimination and red-baiting. The inside back cover reads: "We form an organization, which unites all workers in our industry on an industrial basis, and rank and file control, regardless of craft, age, sex, nationality, race, creed or political beliefs, and pursue at all times a policy of aggressive struggle to improve our conditions". UE was a Communist-led union which was formally expelled from the Canadian Congress of Labour in 1949. It continued to organize workers as an independent union and in 1974 was readmitted to the Canadian Labour Congress.

This Is Your Strike! — An Appeal to All Members of the Trade Union Movement from 15,000 Workers at the Sudbury and Port Colborne Plants of Inco. *[Toronto: National Co-ordinating Committee for the Inco Strike, 1958]*

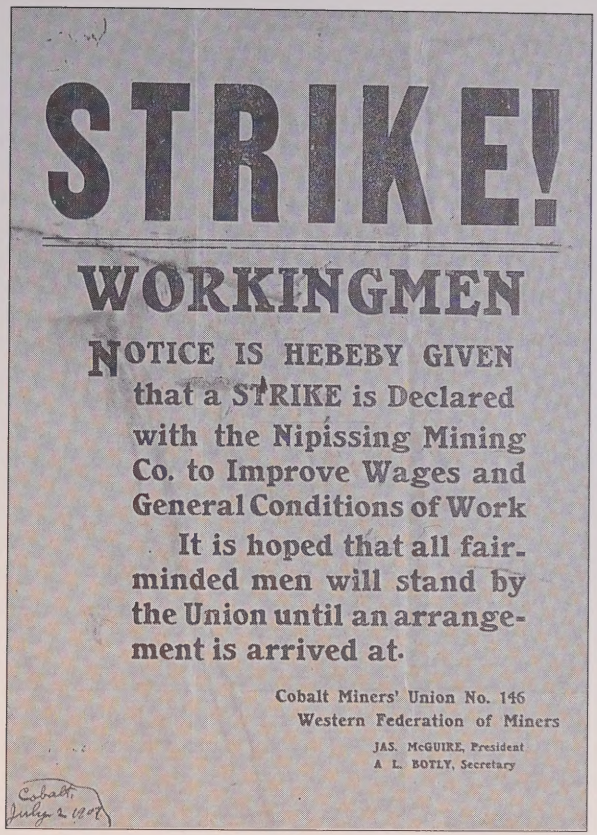
This leaflet contained an appeal to Canadian trade unionists and messages of solidarity from various unionists across the country in support of the long, hard-fought strike by Sudbury miners in 1958.

Charles Lipton. **The Trade Union Movement of Canada, 1827-1959.** *Montreal: Canadian Social Publications, 1966.*

The CPC's 'People's History' project was formed to document and analyze the rich tradition of popular struggle in Canada. The projected multi-volume series never materialized, but a number of important works were published, including Lipton's exhaustive, left-wing analysis of the history of the trade union movement.

Libres.

Self-adhesive sticker featuring a photograph of the three Quebec union leaders—Louis Laberge, Yvon Charbonneau and Marcel Pepin—arrested in the aftermath of the Quebec general strike of 1972.



STRIKE!

WORKINGMEN

NOTICE IS HEBEBY GIVEN that a STRIKE is Declared with the Nipissing Mining Co. to Improve Wages and General Conditions of Work

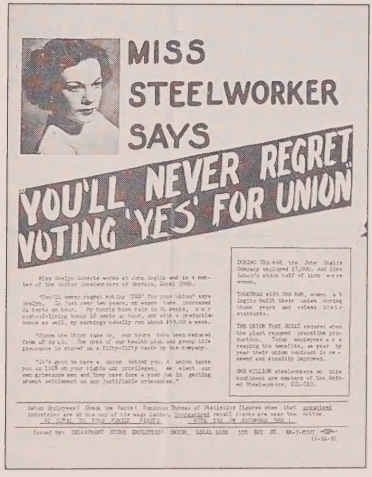
It is hoped that all fair-minded men will stand by the Union until an arrangement is arrived at.

Cobalt Miners' Union No. 146
Western Federation of Miners

JAS. McGUIRE, President
A. L. BOYLY, Secretary

Cobalt, July 2 1907

Western Federation of Miners strike leaflet. Cobalt, Ontario. July, 2, 1907.



MISS STEELWORKER SAYS

YOU'LL NEVER REGRET VOTING 'YES' FOR UNION

Leaflet supporting the union drive at Eaton's Department Store in Toronto, 1951.

CASE 5

UNITY IN ACTION

UNITED FRONTS, POPULAR FRONTS AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Revolutionary political activity to us means disciplined work in the labor unions, agitation in the election campaigns, agitation from the floor of Parliament, mass demonstrations, organizations of the unemployed, and participation in the everyday struggles of the working class. For we realize that only through their mass experience with Capitalist dictatorship in the everyday struggle will the working class be rallied to its vanguard, to struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. The struggle for power will inevitably grow out of the struggle for bread.

Maurice Spector, *The Worker*, March 15, 1922

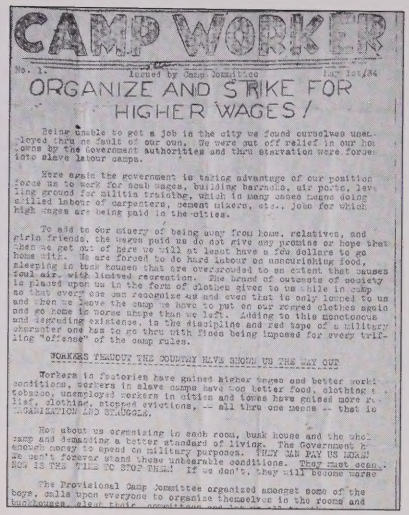
THROUGHOUT ITS HISTORY, THE CPC EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF broad contact with the mass of Canadian workers. In addition to propaganda, agitation and recruitment to the party itself, it also formed and/or participated in various non-party organizations. Communists would work in solidarity with other socialists and militants on issues of common importance, and often succeeded in bolstering their influence and numbers in the process.

In 1919–20, the wars of intervention against Soviet Russia, in which Canadian armed forces were active, prompted the nascent communist movement to form 'Hands Off Russia' committees. On the party's formal founding, it immediately organized the group, Canadian Friends of Soviet Russia, to aid the workers and peasants of the fledgeling Soviet republic. In the 1920s, it launched the Trade Union Educational League and the Progressive Farmer's Educational League which educated and agitated in support of the struggles of these groups. The Canadian Labour Defense League (CLDL), which organized defense campaigns for workers who faced arrest, imprisonment and other acts of state repression, was formed in 1925. The CPC was also heavily involved in the Canadian Labor Party, contributing to municipal election campaigns in several cities. In 1923, the WPC won provincial affiliation to the Canadian Labor Party in Ontario, Quebec and Alberta.

The 'United Front', the guiding tactic of CPC intervention, arose out of the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921 as a means to win over the majority of non-communist workers. It specified that communist parties should attempt to pressure the leaders of the reformist organizations into cooperation on specific issues by winning over their followers for unity in action.[1] This meant organizing

joint actions with social democratic parties and other working-class groups, both in order to win particular struggles and to strengthen the ranks of the communists.

During the 'Third Period', 1929 to 1934, CPC tactics changed. Alongside the WUL and the Farmers Unity League, the CPC built 'red' organizations which stressed militancy, active intervention in the class struggle, and intense opposition to reformists. The CLDL continued to organize, most notably defending communist leaders and members arrested under Section 98 of the Criminal Code of Canada for seditious activity. The Canadian League Against War and Fascism coordinated the activities of anti-fascist activities in the context of Hitler's rise to power in Germany and the existence of openly fascist organizations in Canada. The National Unemployed Workers' Association (NUWA), an affiliate of the WUL, organized unemployed workers in the cities and relief camps and led the On-To-Ottawa Trek in 1935. These groupings included many non-party members, but their politics mirrored that of the CPC, and party members were usually in key leadership positions.


CAMP WORKER

No. 1. Issued by Camp Committee May 1st/34

ORGANIZE AND STRIKE FOR HIGHER WAGES!

Being unable to get a job in the city we found ourselves unemployed thru no fault of our own. We were cut off relief in our homes by the Government authorities and thru starvation were forced into slave labour camps.

Here again the government is taking advantage of our position forces us to work for 50ch wages, building barracks, air ports, levelling ground for militia training, which in many cases means doing skilled labor of carpenters, cement mixers, etc., jobs for which high wages are being paid in the cities.

To add to our misery of being away from home, relatives, and girls friends, the wages paid us do not give any promise or hope that when we get out of here we will at least have a few dollars to go home with. We are forced to do hard labour on unnourishing food, sleeping in tar housen that are overcrowded to an extent that causes foul air, with limited recreation. The brand of outcasts of society is placed upon us in the form of clothes given to us while in camp so that every one can recognize us and even that is only issued to us and then we leave the camp we have to put on our ragged clothes again and go home in worse shape than we left. Living in this monotonous and degrading existence, in the discipline and red tape of a military character one has to go thru with fines being imposed for every trifling "offense" of the camp rules.

WORKERS THROUGHT THE COUNTRY HAVE SHOWN US THE WAY OUT

Workers in factories have gained higher wages and better working conditions, workers in slave camps have won better food, clothing, tobacco, unemployed workers in cities and towns have gained more relief, clothing, stopped evictions, -- all thru one means -- that is ORGANIZATION AND STRUGGLE.

Now about us organizing in each room, bunk house and the whole camp and demanding a better standard of living. The Government has enough money to spend on military purposes. THEY CAN PAY US MORE! We must forever stand these unbearable conditions. They must cease. NOW IS THE TIME TO STOP THEM! If we don't, they will become worse

The Provisional Camp Committee organized amongst some of the boys, calls upon everyone to organize themselves in the rooms and bunkhouses, elect their committees and take up all their

Camp Worker. ***No.1 (May 1, 1934).***

In 1935, again in response to an important decision in the Comintern, the party undertook a new turn and sought to initiate a 'Canadian People's Front'. This policy was known internationally as "the United Front of the Working Class Against Fascism and War" declared by the 1935 Congress of the Comintern and its General Secretary Georgi Dimitroff.[2] In addition to working formally with CCF leaders, the CPC pledged to work with all 'progressive forces' including non-working-class parties and organizations. The CPC declared its intent to help build the national CCF as a broadly-based party of the working class and its allies, and sought unsuccessfully to affiliate to the CCF. At the local and provincial level, the party built alliances with the CCF, the Social Credit Party and the United Farmers of Alberta. The Young Communist League played a key role in forming the Canadian Youth Congress in 1936 which adopted a Declaration of Rights of Canadian Youth and a draft Canadian Youth Act. The YCL worked in solidarity with the anti-fascist movement.[3]

In the post-war period, the LPP and CPC were heavily involved in the peace movement, advocating nuclear disarmament, cessation of the Cold War and peace with the Soviet Union. They advanced the slogan 'Ban the Bomb' in the late 1940s, joined with anti-war radicals in the Canadian Peace Congress in the 1950s and 1960s, and participated in struggles against the Korean and Vietnam wars. The CPC continued to work in coalitions with other left groups and activists through the 1980s.

Case 5 Highlights

Picnic Sponsored by the Citizens' Emergency Committee In Support of the Camp Strikers, Wascana Park *[Regina, Saskatchewan] Sunday June 30 [1935]* *[Regina: Picnic Committee, 1935]*

Camp Worker. *No.1 (May 1, 1934). [British Columbia? : Provisional Camp Committee, 1934]*

Ronald Liversedge. **Recollections of the On-To-Ottawa Trek 1935.** *[Vancouver?: s.n., 1961?]*

Photograph of trekkers marching into Calgary on the On-To-Ottawa Trek, 1935.

Unity: A Paper for Working Men & Women. *Vol.5, No.7 (May 1935). Toronto: National Executive Board, Workers' Unity League, 1935.*

In the 1930s, the NUWA succeeded in organizing relief camp workers' unions to fight for better conditions in the dismal camps housing single unemployed men. Forced to do meaningless work for a pittance, relief camp workers also had to contend with isolation, boredom and the stern military-style discipline of camp officials. The NUWA successfully built on these grievances to build a powerful movement of the unemployed. Between June 1933 and March 1934 there were fifty-seven 'disturbances' reported at relief camps. At Long Branch relief camp near Toronto, 700 inmates struck in 1934 and shut down the camp.

In April 1935 a major protest began when 1,500 relief camp workers in British Columbia struck and demonstrated in Vancouver demanding work and wages. When they failed to get a response from the federal government, they boarded freight trains and began the famous On-to-Ottawa Trek to meet with Prime Minister R.B. Bennett. Led by CPC militant Arthur "Slim" Evans, the trekkers gathered mass support along the way and grew to thousands by the time they reached Regina. Here the marchers clashed with the RCMP, resulting in the death of one policeman, the injury of scores of protestors, and the arrest of over one hundred trekkers. The Trek was stopped but in Ottawa its representatives met with the intransigent Prime Minister. The movement of the unemployed continued throughout the 1930s and, eventually, due to pressure from below, the federal government enacted unemployment insurance in 1941.

The five documents on display contribute important documentary information on the relief camps and the On-To-Ottawa trek.

A.M. Stephen. **Hitlerism in Canada.** *Vancouver: Canadian League Against War and Fascism, [1934]*

John Strachey. **Fascism Means War!** *Toronto: Canadian League Against War and Fascism, [1935]*

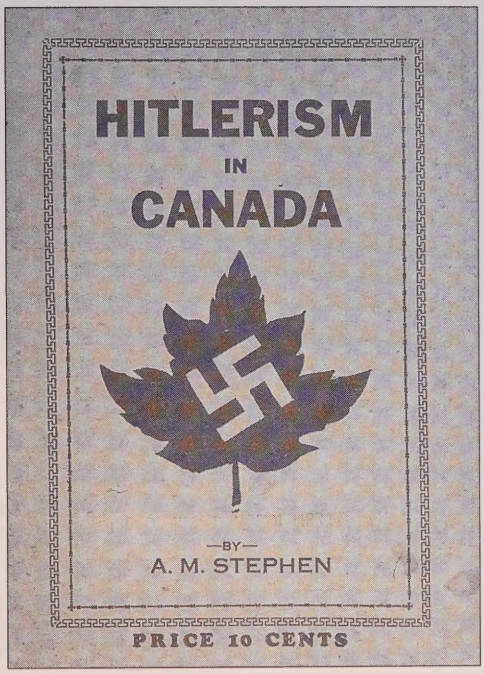
Button. Inscribed: **Stop Hitler, Save World Peace.** ***May Day 1939, Winnipeg.***

The threat of world war arising after Hitler's seizure of power in Germany in 1933, the militarization of the major powers and the growth of fascist tendencies in Canada itself, led the CPC to join with other anti-war and anti-fascist activists to form the Canadian League Against War and Fascism. Its first congress, held in Montreal in October 1934, was attended by 305 delegates and 415 observers, including trade unionists, CCF members and representatives from churches and synagogues.[4] The League published a number of pamphlets and books, organized an anti-war art exhibition, demonstrated against fascism in Canada and abroad, and alerted Canadians to the significance of the struggle against Franco during the Spanish Civil War.

Ribbon, lettered: **Souvenir World Congress of the Communist International, Report by Stewart Smith on World Communist Congress. Auditorium, Vancouver, B.C. Friday Jan. 24th, 1936. Forward to a People's Front in Canada!**

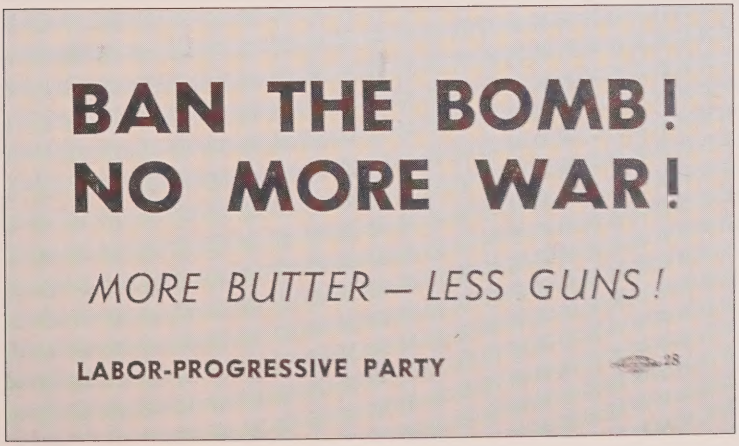
National Affairs Monthly. *Vol.VII, No.2 (February 1950). Toronto: National Committee of the Labor-Progressive Party, 1950.*

Articles in this issue include J.D. Bernal, "The Atom—For War or Peace?" and Dorise Nielsen "World's Women Fight For Peace".



A. M. Stephen.* Hitlerism in Canada. *Vancouver: Canadian League Against War and Fascism [1934].

Ban the Bomb, Labor Progressive Party sticker, circa 1950.



CHAPTER 6

UNITED WE STAND, DIVIDED WE FALL

FIGHTING OPPRESSION

We must remember that only a code of sexual morality that is in harmony with the problems of the working class can serve as an important weapon in strengthening the working class's fighting position. The experience of history teaches us that much. What can stop us using this weapon in the interests of the working class, who are fighting for a communist system and for new relationships between the sexes that are deeper and more joyful?

Alexandra Kollontai, 1919[1]

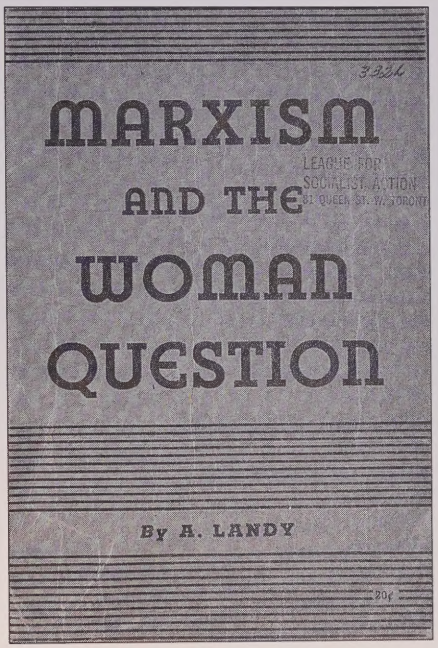
MARXISM WAS CONSIDERED BY COMMUNISTS AS A GENERAL THEORY OF understanding society, but also as the practical project of human emancipation. Marxism meant more than simply the overthrow of capitalism, for Marx saw the destruction of capitalism as part of the general liberation of humanity from all forms of oppression. Since all the different forms of oppression were seen as integral to class society, all oppression that weighed upon humankind—racism, sexism, and national oppression—could only be overcome by ending class society.

Marxists emphasized the centrality of linking the struggles of oppressed groups to the working class. To build a movement capable of transcending class society, socialists and radicals had to confront the particular divisions among workers that prevented a united working-class. Marxist analysis, internal debates and difficulties, international influences, and the particularities of Canadian society shaped the views of the CPC in fighting oppression.

In the early years of the party, the Comintern encouraged the CPC and other communist parties to focus on actively recruiting women workers, and introducing issues such as birth control and reproductive freedom to socialist politics.[2] Soon after the CPC's founding, a Women's Department was started under the direction of Florence Custance and a regular column in *The Worker* drew attention to the importance of women's issues. The CPC was active in the Women's Labor Leagues, campaigning to build solidarity and raise funds for striking Nova Scotia miners and working with organizations of the unemployed. Beginning in 1924, the Women's Labor Leagues instituted celebrations to commemorate International Women's Day across the country.

In the 1930s, the CPC focused on women wage workers, community organiz-

ing around consumer struggles, and women's role in the peace movement. Some progress was made in organizing the wives of unemployed men within WUL unions. Women played critical roles in building solidarity with relief camp strikers and other actions by the unemployed movement. A delegation of Women's Labor League activists and party members visited the Soviet Union and reported back on the gains made in fighting for women's rights. In the late 1930s, CPC women were active in the Canadian League Against War and Fascism as well as other efforts in support of the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War. Jean "Jim" Watts, a party activist and theatre worker, served in Spain as a reporter for the *Daily Clarion* and later as an ambulance driver in the International Brigades.



Avram Landy's* Marxism and the Woman Question *(1943).

In the 1940s and 1950s, the party encouraged women to get involved in the struggle against state repression of the left, and the drive to unionize women workers, especially during the war. Women occupied key positions in campaigns for peace with the Soviet Union. Several CPC/LPP women were elected to office in the period, including Dorise Nielsen, as M.P. for North Battleford, Saskatchewan, Edna Ryerson and Margaret Morton as school trustees in Toronto, Helen Anderson, first as a City Controller and later as an alderman in Hamilton, and Mary Kardash, as school trustee in Winnipeg. Their campaigns often focused on issues central to women and the family: housing, day care, equal pay for equal work, and free milk for school children. In 1950, the party helped form the Canadian Congress of Women which continued to agitate on women's issues for thirty years, helping to revive, in the late 1970s, the mass marches and rallies on International Women's Day.

The fight against national chauvinism was also taken up by the party. By the 1950s, the CPC considered Quebec to be a distinct nation within the Canadian state with unequal national rights and a history of national oppression, arguing that its people had a right to national self-determination. They had difficulties organizing in Quebec due to the influence of the Church, state repression, and internal disagreements over the nature of national oppression but by the late 1940s had established a sizeable presence in Quebec with a monthly French-language newspaper, *Combat.* Several Quebec communists held national leadership positions in the CPC including Henri Gagnon, Gui Caron, Evariste Dubé, Sam Walsh, and Jeanette Walsh.

In the 1930s, the CPC worked with other socialists to fight anti-Asian racism on the west coast and anti-black racism in Montreal and Toronto. During the 1960s–1970s, it was centrally involved in the anti-apartheid movement.

In recent years, historians and activists in various social movements have criticized socialists for treating oppression as an issue of marginal importance in the class struggle. Communists accepted aspects of this critique, and in the 1970s refined their analysis and involved themselves more actively in the struggles of women, immigrants and people of colour.

A picket line led by J. B. Salsberg in 1946 at the ice rink Iceland, protesting the refusal of the racist management to admit Negroes and Jews to the rink.

AN APPEAL TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN SPADINA RIDING

The Spadina by-election on October 24th is of special importance to us Negro citizens. We have problems that call for a special approach on our part. This is particularly true in Spadina where the majority of the Negro people in Toronto live.

Like all Canadians we want to avoid another war. We want to live and not be blown up by atomic bombs. We want our children to grow up in a peaceful, prosperous and fully democratic Canada.

But we Negro people also want an end to every and all forms of discrimination. We want equal opportunities with all others to education and employment. We want an end to the shameful immigration policy which discriminates against Negroes. We want decent housing accomodations, and an end to residential discrimination against us.

WE WANT TO BE FULL FLEDGED AND NOT SECOND CLASS CITIZENS.

Whom Can We Rely Upon To Fight For Our Needs Without Fear and Hesitation?

The Liberal candidate in the Spadina by-election is a multi-millionaire who tries to buy himself a seat in Parliament. He writes about immigration when his Liberal government practices discrimination against Negro immigrants every day of the year! Not a single Negro vote should go for that Liberal candidate.

The Tory candidate is a man who could not get his own party to re-nominate him after serving one term in the legislature. He too is trying to get Negro votes. This, after the miserable showing of the Ontario Tory government in the Dresden case.

The Conservative minister of labor refused to prosecute the creatures in Dresden who practised discrimination against us until he was forced to, by public outcry. When the Judge threw out the Dresden case, this same minister said, "The case is as dead as a

An anti-racist leaflet by Toronto communist J. B. Salsberg distributed as part of his successful 1947 re-election campaign for the Ontario legislature.

CASE 6 HIGHLIGHTS

Friedrich Engels. **Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats.** *[The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State] Zurich: Ring-Verlag, c1934.*

This version of Engels's ground-breaking analysis of women's oppression was published in Switzerland the year after the Nazis had effectively banned the publication of socialist literature in Germany.

Originally published in 1885, Engels's book argued that women's oppression arose when 'primitive' societies divided into antagonistic classes. He concluded that women's oppression would be abolished only when class distinctions ended in the aftermath of socialist revolution. This basic thesis has been much revised and criticized by Marxists and feminists, but it remains the starting point for a materialist analysis of women's oppression.

Reports to the Eighth Dominion Convention, Communist Party of Canada, Toronto October 8–12, 1937.

The mimeographed copies of convention reports on display illustrate the importance the CPC gave to work among oppressed groups. They include: Paul Phillips, *Memorandum on the Work of the National Language Organizations; The Youth Movement and People's Unity;* A.M. Cooke, *Work Among Women; The Report on the Activities of the National Jewish Buro of the Communist Party of Canada;* and E. Dubé, *French Canada Awakens.*

A. Landy. **Marxism and the Woman Question.** *Toronto: Progress Books, 1943.*

This pamphlet by American Communist Avram Landy was a response to a debate raised by Mary Inman in the CPUSA, who criticized Marxism for underestimating the role of domestic labour in sustaining capitalism. Landy contended that housework was a private service unrelated to capitalist production and that women would only be emancipated by entering the workforce. While Landy's thesis (shown here in a Canadian edition published by Progress Books) was formally supported by the CPC leadership, the party was also active in organizing women around domestic labour issues, forming an extensive network of Housewives' Consumers Associations which agitated against rising food prices.[3]

An Appeal to the Negro People in Spadina Riding. *[Toronto: Negro Committee for the Election of Mr. J.B. Salsberg, ca.1947]*

This election leaflet for Toronto communist M.P.P. J.B. Salsberg shows Salsberg leading a 1946 anti-racist demonstration at Icelandia ice rink, whose management refused entry to Jews and Blacks.

Révolution Québécoise. *Vol.1, No.1 (September 1964). Montreal: Révolution Québécoise, 1964.*

On display is the first issue of this important Quebec political journal, edited by the revolutionary nationalist writer and activist, Pierre Vallières. The journal critically engaged with socialist ideas and politics in the context of struggles for Quebec self-determination.

Button. Inscribed: **Defend Quebec's right to self-determination.** *ca.1970s.*

'Defend Quebec's Right to Self-Determination' was a popular slogan among English-Canadian socialists in the 1970s in the wake of the mass struggles by Quebec workers for increased language and national rights.

Pedestal, Lesbian-Feminist Newspaper. *Vol.7, No.1 (1975). Vancouver: The Pedestal Collective, 1975.*

Gay Left: A Socialist Journal Produced By Gay People. *No.3 (Autumn 1976). London, U.K.: Gay Left Collective, 1976.*

With the advent of the gay liberation movement in the late 1960s, the left began to incorporate an analysis of gay oppression within Marxism and intervened in struggles against homophobia. The journals on display reflect these important developments in left politics.

Button. Inscribed: **International Women's Day, March 8–11, 1978.**

"In agreement with the class-conscious, political and trade union organizations of the proletariat of their respective countries, the socialist women of all countries

will hold a day each year, a Women's Day, whose foremost purpose it must be to aid the attainment of women's suffrage. This demand must be handled in conjunction with the entire women's question according to socialist precepts. The Women's Day must have an international character and is to be prepared carefully."[4] With the passing of this resolution in 1910 at the Second International Women's Conference in Copenhagen, International Women's Day (IWD) was born.

The idea for the day came from Clara Zetkin, a leading German socialist and later a founder of the German Communist Party with Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Zetkin believed that the day could be used to agitate on important issues and win more women to socialism. March 8 was chosen because on this date in 1908 militant women garment workers in New York City's lower east side held an inspiring 50,000 strong demonstration, protesting atrocious safety conditions in the textile industry, and demanding the vote for women, equal pay for equal work and childcare for working mothers.

Socialists around the world celebrated IWD with a variety of events and demonstrations, centring on international solidarity and women's issues. In the 1920s, CPC women activists organized major events across the country, featuring political speeches and entertainment in several languages.[5]

The button on display commemorates the revival, in 1978, of large IWD events in Toronto. Organized by a coalition of various leftists and feminists, including CPC activists, they demanded reproductive rights, sexual freedom and equality for women workers.[6] The 1978 march was led by "Wives Supporting the Strike", a group composed of the wives of striking workers from the United Steel Workers of America Local 6500 in Sudbury who were waging a momentous strike against INCO.

Communist Viewpoint. *Vol.21, No.1 (Spring 1989). Toronto: Progress Books, 1989.*

The cover of this issue of the CPC's monthly journal shows a photograph of a militant pro-choice demonstration. The cover title reads: "Never Again!", a slogan which referred to the movement's strenuous opposition to unsafe, back street abortions. In the late 1980s, there was a successful struggle by pro-choice activists to strike down Canada's anti-abortion law and defend abortion clinics.

CASE 7

THE CULTURAL FRONT

The awakening proletariat must have a revolutionary culture that will expand with the growing realization of its need and the methods necessary to their fulfillment. They must have songs that will stir them emotionally, that will waken a response in their own subjective suffering, and lead them on to revolt. They must have plays that will depict the drabness and sorrow of their daily lives and resolve the doubts and fears that arise in the minds of the frustrated, into a clarified determination to assert their own strength as a class.

Editorial, *Masses*, 1932[1]

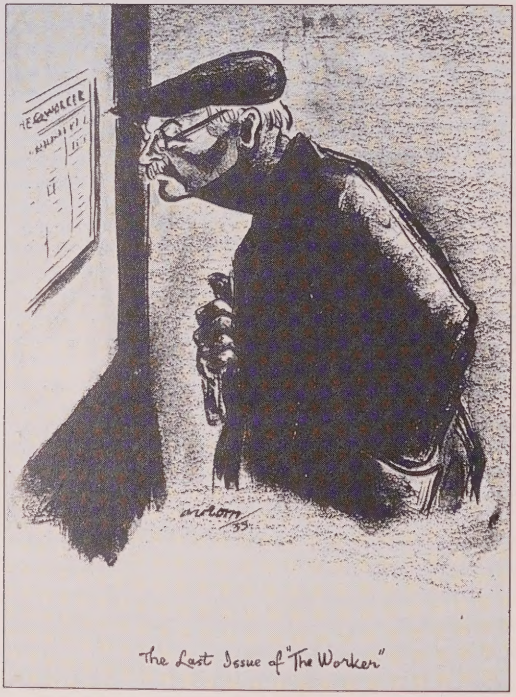
THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN CANADA ENCOMPASSED A VIBRANT CULTURAL tradition. While concentrating on explicitly political activities, working-class and socialist organizations have always cultivated an interest in alternative cultural productions—literature, theatre, visual arts and political display—which challenged mainstream assumptions about society. Cultural activity was connected with the particular politics of the movement and helped to forge bonds of working-class solidarity in opposition to the dominant capitalist ideology.

In the nineteenth century, the Knights of Labor—a radical trade union and working-class movement—created a "movement culture" where "ritual and procession, symbolism and soirée, combined to proclaim the unity of all labour".[2] They embraced an elaborate set of symbolic conventions, including secret signs, oaths and passwords as well as more public demonstrations of labour solidarity such as picnics, dinners, parades and sporting events. Pre-World War I socialist organizations and unions often celebrated the revolutionary calendar with picnics, parades and concerts. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the radical Western Federation of Miners, particularly in British Columbia, erected union halls that became community centres for the general public. The massive hall in Rossland, B.C. is today an official historical site. Labour newspapers would often include fiction and art work from Canadian and European artists in an attempt to connect with workers on various levels.

The class struggle politics of the CPC in the 1920s fostered a rich culture of resistance. The area behind the Glace Bay, Nova Scotia post office where militant miners would congregate was dubbed 'Red Square'. Celebrations of revolutionary holidays in industrial Cape Breton witnessed rousing speeches, films and perfor-

mances by the 'junior Red' choir.[3] International Women's Day was celebrated in communist circles with a variety of cultural events. In Sudbury, "lady comrades worked ceaselessly on an inspirational programme in English, Ukrainian and Finnish", whose highlights were poetry readings, singing of workers' songs, orchestral performances and speeches in the three languages.[4]

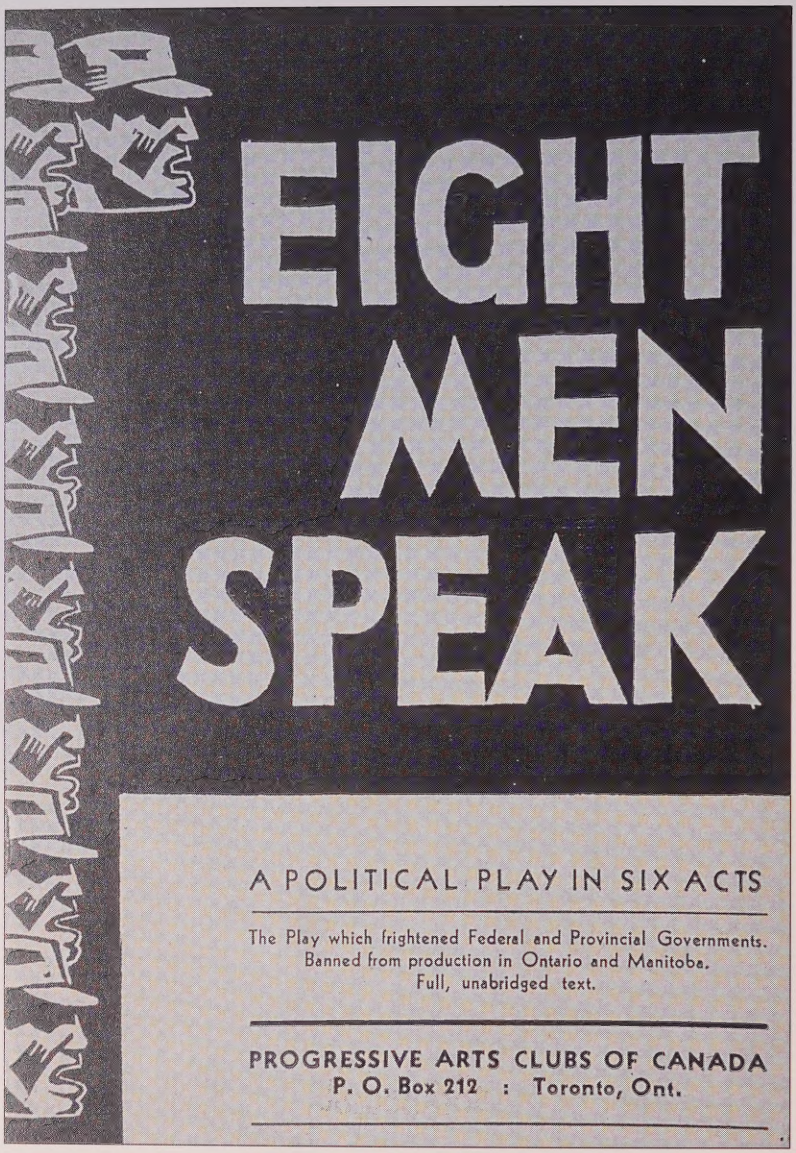
The severe social and economic dislocation of the 1930s created fertile ground for radical cultural expression. In 1931, a group of left-wing writers and artists involved with the CPC, including Stanley Ryerson, Avrom Yanovsky, E.Cecil-Smith, Oscar Ryan, and Dorothy Livesay, formed the Progressive Arts Club (PAC). As Sandra Souchette writes: "Their objective was to provide the basis for the development of a militant, working-class art and literature and to register popular complaint about the economic crisis of the thirties in Canada".[5] The PAC would eventually consist of a literature section, a Workers' Experimental Theatre (WET) troupe and an artists' group. From 1932 – 34, it published the journal *Masses* and established branches in Winnipeg, Montreal, Halifax, Vancouver, London and elsewhere. The various PAC branches successfully produced original plays, art work and writing, gathering a significant following among workers and the left in Canada. Many middle-class artists and writers in this milieu were radicalized in the midst of the depression and later rose to prominence in the Canadian arts scene.



***A drawing by CPC artist "Avrom" commemorating the last issue of the party's weekly before it changed to* The Daily Clarion.**

Socialists in the 1930s sought to make art relevant to the masses and the struggle by making it explicitly political. Agitational propaganda (agit-prop) and proletarian literature (prolit) were unique socialist artistic genres developed for this purpose. Agit-prop plays, usually composed of short, unabashedly political sketches, were performed on the picket line, in the street, and in more conventional settings. The actors were often workers themselves, such as the unemployed who staged Trevor Maguire's *Unemployment.* Poems and short stories stimulated "a movement toward contemporaneity, political purpose and realism".[6] Socialist artists such as Avrom Yanovsky, Leonard Hutchinson, Laurence Hyde, "Henri", Ruth Brown, Fritz Brandtner and Nathan Petroff created wood engravings, lino cuts and scratch board drawings "to capture the drama of the times".[7] Their cartoons and illustrations of the unemployment crisis, the anti-fascist movement and other political themes were frequently reproduced in magazines such as *Canadian Forum, Masses* and *New Frontier.* They formed an Artists' Union in the late 1930s with locals in several cities.

There were continuities in socialist artistic activity between the early 1930s and the 1950s but the changing political environment resulted in a shift towards more conventional themes and media. The 'Canadian People's Front' policy of the CPC inaugurated in 1935 led to less politically confrontational artistic expression, which was more in line with a broader milieu. The Theatre of Action which succeeded the WET, for example, employed more conventional theatre settings for its plays and was decidedly less radical in its themes. The bold experimentation and political stridency gave way to more restrained and personal expression. In the 1940s and 1950s, CPC artists and writers focused on Canadian nationalist themes and the folk art of Canada's immigrant groups. Nevertheless, the culture of solidarity on the picket line, in demonstrations and parades, continued to form an important part of left politics.


EIGHT MEN SPEAK
A POLITICAL PLAY IN SIX ACTS
The Play which frightened Federal and Provincial Governments.
Banned from production in Ontario and Manitoba.
Full, unabridged text.
PROGRESSIVE ARTS CLUBS OF CANADA
P. O. Box 212 : Toronto, Ont.

Oscar Ryan [and others]. **Eight Men Speak: A Political Play In Six Acts** ***(1934).***

CASE 7 HIGHLIGHTS

Colin McKay. **Windjammers and Bluenose Sailors: Stories of the Sea.** *Compiled and Edited by Lewis Jackson and Ian McKay. Lockeport, Nova Scotia: Roseway Publishing, c1993. (Fisher Library, Canadian Literature Collection)*

Colin McKay was a progressive labour journalist and independent Marxist who wrote voluminously about the politics and culture of the Maritime provinces. While working as a seaman on the Atlantic coast in the early years of the century, he wrote adventure stories set on the sailing ships that plied their trade along the eastern seaboard of North America. His popular stories challenged mythical notions of seafaring as a romantic 'Golden Age' in Maritime history. While utilizing many aspects of the adventure genre, "His was the workingman's view of the sea".[8]

Oscar Ryan [and others] **Eight Men Speak: A Political Play In Six Acts.** *Toronto: Progressive Arts Club, [1934]*

The Workers' Experimental Theatre (1931–1935) began by producing plays from English and American authors, but it soon staged "drama rooted in the lives and struggles of the toilers of Canada's shops, mines, farms and slave camps".[9] *Eight Men Speak* was WET's most successful production. Written collectively by CPC members Oscar Ryan, E. Cecil-Smith, H. Francis and Mildred Goldberg, the story concerns the arrest of eight CPC leaders and the attempted murder of General Secretary Tim Buck in Kingston penitentiary. The play "includes satiric caricatures of the controlling personnel of Kingston society, realistic trial and prison scenes, a pantomimed shooting of Buck and a symbolic conviction of Capitalism by the Labor Defense League (sic), ending with a ringing assertion of Socialist triumph".[10]

Featuring a cast of thirty-two, its première performance at Toronto's Standard Theatre on December 4, 1933 drew 1,500 people. It was such a success that future performances were banned by the Ontario government. The cover of this 1934 edition of the play proclaims: "The Play Which Frightened Federal and Provincial Governments. Banned From Production in Ontario and Manitoba". At a meeting to protest the banning of the play, the lead speaker A.E. Smith, the head of the CLDL, was charged with seditious conspiracy after accusing Prime Minister R.B. Bennett of ordering the shooting of Tim Buck. A defense campaign was mounted that led to Smith's acquittal.

An evening with Paul Robeson, with Alan Booth, Saturday, February 11, 8:30 p.m., Massey Hall, Toronto *[Toronto: Midtown Book Shop, 1950]*

This brochure advertised a Toronto concert by the renowned African-American communist singer and actor Paul Robeson. In 1952, Robeson was invited to sing at the Vancouver convention of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. As part of the persecution of Robeson by the U.S. government, President Truman signed a special order preventing him from crossing the border to travel to Canada. His passport had been taken away in 1950, but since no passport was necessary to visit Canada, the severity of the action was unprecendented. Union officials arranged to have Robeson sing at the International Peace Arch Park in Blaine, Washington on the U.S.-Canada border. Forty thousand people gathered on both sides of the border to hear Robeson's two open-air concerts.[11]

Nora Rodd. **Hail Beloved Comrade.**

Typescript of poem with mss signature and dedication. Inscribed: To Becky Buhay with Love and Gratitude to a "Beloved Comrade" Nov. 15, 1953.

The author of the poem on display was Windsor communist Nora Rodd, an activist in the anti-war, women's and trade union movement from the 1930s to the 1970s. Written to commemorate the death of Becky Buhay, the poem illustrates the deep respect and devotion by rank-and-file members for Buhay, a founding member and leader of the CPC for thirty years.

The Theatre of Action presents Roar China! by Sergei Tretiakov. *Hart House Theatre, January 11-16, 1937. Directed by David Pressman.*

Theatre of Action presents "It Can't Happen Here", *A revised version of the play by John Moffitt and Sinclair Lewis. Margaret Eaton Hall, December 12-17, 1938. Directed by Daniel Mann.*

The Theatre of Action presents "Of Mice and Men" by John Steinbeck. *Margaret Eaton Hall, March 1940. Directed by Sydney Banks.*

On display are three programmes for plays by The Theatre of Action, the Toronto-based successor to the Workers' Experimental Theatre troupe. It staged numerous plays by American, European and Canadian playwrights, receiving favourable reviews from both the labour and mainstream press.[12] It also produced children's plays and shorter pieces for political events, and offered acting lessons. It was the first Canadian theatre troupe to introduce modern staging techniques and pioneered the 'Stanislavski' method of acting.[13] Local directors included CPC members Toby Ryan and Jean "Jim" Watts. Several actors who performed in Theatre of Action plays, such as Frank Shuster, Johnny Wayne and Lorne Green, went on to become popular theatre, film and television stars.

Week for the Progressive Press at Camp "Naivelt" July 25-August 13. *[Toronto: Cultural Committee, Labor-Progressive Party, 1949]*

This broadsheet, with English and Yiddish on opposite sides, lists the events at a camp retreat for LPP journalists and students.

New Frontier: A Monthly Magazine of Literature & Social Criticism. *Vol.1, No.2 (May 1936). Toronto: New Frontier, 1936.*

The second issue of the CPC-affiliated magazine, which ran from April 1936 to October 1937, featured poems by Dorothy Livesay, E.J.Pratt and Robert Choquette. It was the successor publication to *Masses.*

Photograph of Margaret Fairley *ca. 1953.*

New Frontiers, Second Annual Spring Concert, Hart House Theatre April 9, 1955. *[Toronto: New Frontiers, 1955]*

New Frontiers (1952–56) was established as a successor to the 1930s CPC cultural magazines *New Frontier* and *Masses.* Edited by Margaret Fairley, it concentrated on contemporary politics and the history and culture of Canada. This programme was for a *New Frontiers*-sponsored fund-raising concert featuring "folk dance and song reflecting the traditions of people who make up Canada".

Photograph of Joe Wallace, *November 25, 1953.*

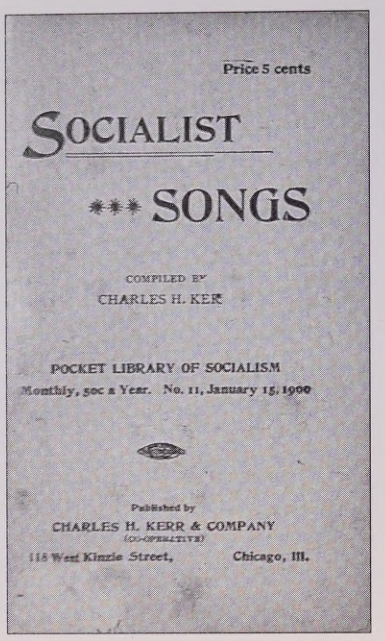
Joe Wallace. **A Radiant Sphere.** *Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964.*

Robert Kenny called Joe Wallace Canada's own "Working-class and socialist poet".[14] Nova Scotian by birth, Wallace joined the Communist Party soon after its founding in 1922 and wrote regularly for *The Worker.* He worked on the *Daily Clarion* from 1936 to 1938 and was interned for two years during the war under the Defense of Canada Regulations which banned the Communist Party and other socialist organizations.

Wallace published several books of poetry from the 1940s to the 1960s. His themes encompassed socialist politics, the Soviet Union and reflections on Canadian history, geography and culture. In the introduction to the book on display he explains his conception of poetry:

> Poetry does not begin when the poet sits down before a piece of paper and hopes that the kindling words will come. It begins when you wake up in the morning and choose among the words and thoughts that crowd into your mind, among the things you see and hear from those around you, when you make the best response, both oral and in action, to the calls that come to you, invisibly perhaps but inevitably, every moment of the day. Listen to those who have something to say, not merely the writers of the past and present but to the great ocean of humanity that is surging all around you. There is poetry in what they are doing, sometimes in what they are seeking without finding, often in the very words they utter. I have heard it from the lips of a four-year old, from an old man who had nearly reached four-score.[15]

Overleaf: Two socialist songbooks —* Socialist Songs *(Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1900) and* The Workers' Songbook: Words and Music *(London: Workers' Theatre Movement, 1935) — and the programme of an exhibition sponsored by the Workers Art League in Toronto, ca. 1930s.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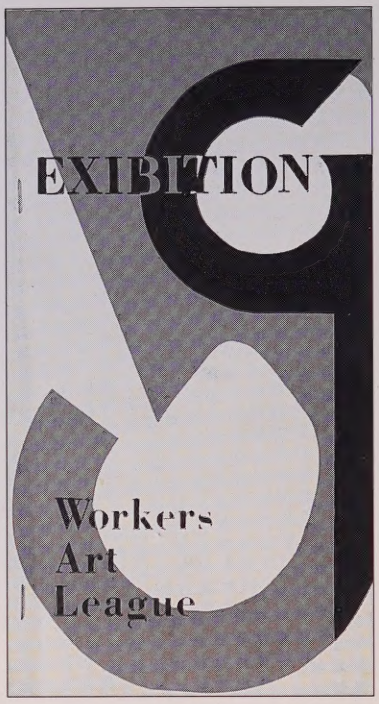
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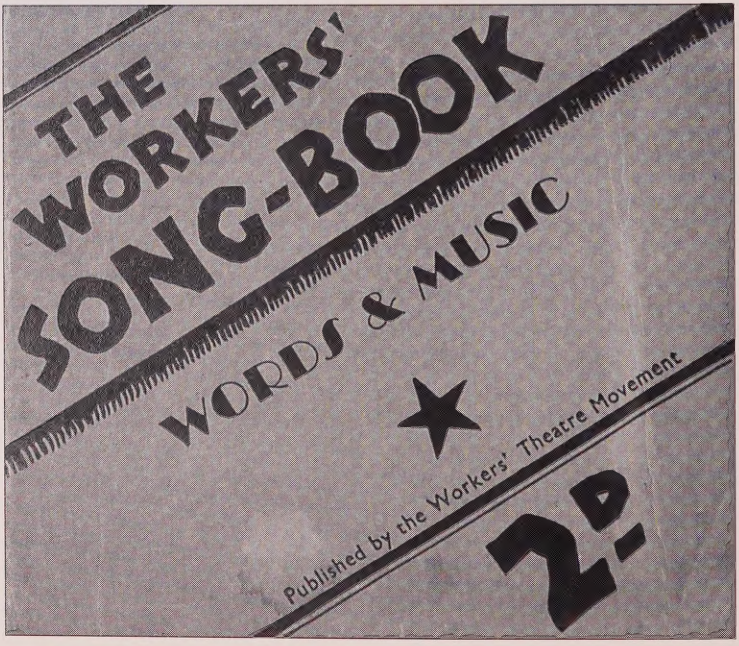
Art
League


THE
WORKERS'
SONG-BOOK
WORDS & MUSIC
Published by the Workers' Theatre Movement
2D.

CASE 8

COMMUNISTS AT WAR

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Communist Party supports this war effort, and exerts every effort to strengthen and accelerate it, and to contribute towards the development of firmer and wider national unity for total war effort.

Resolution of the CPC National Conference, 1942[1]

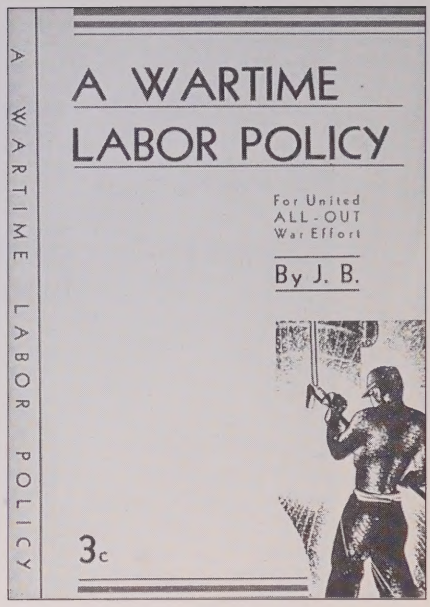
THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN CANADA REACHED ITS ZENITH IN THE PERIOD immediately following the Second World War when it is estimated to have had as many as 33,000 members.[2] The party's growth was a result of its activity during the war and the portrayal of the Soviet Union as Canada's 'Red Ally' in the popular media after the Nazi invasion of June 1941 and British Prime Minister Churchill's declaration of cooperation with the Soviet Union that immediately followed.

Following the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935, the CPC campaigned incessantly for a broad 'popular front' to unite all workers' organizations with those of the middle class, and even anti-fascist capitalists, in defense of democratic freedom. The CPC also echoed the Comintern's call for a parallel 'broad united front' of the western capitalist democracies and the USSR against the dangers posed by Nazi Germany.

In August 1939, after being unable to negotiate a collective security agreement with Britain and France, the USSR signed a non-aggression pact with Germany. The CPC leadership actively defended this dramatic shift in Soviet policy, in the face of considerable opposition from elements of the membership and sharp criticism from the broader left. The CPC's anti-war position also opened it up to considerable state repression. Under the War Measures Act and the Defense of Canada Regulations enacted in late 1939, civil rights were abolished. In November 1939, the CPC press was banned and in June 1940 the party and its affiliated groups were declared illegal. From 1940 to 1942 some 250 key CPC members were interned with no right to appeal. No charges were laid, nor were any trials conducted. Party property, as well as the property of individual communists, was

confiscated and never returned.[3] The party was forced to operate under a different name, and a new newspaper, the *Canadian Tribune,* had to be launched with no formal connection to the party.

After Hitler launched 'Operation Barbarossa' (the invasion of the Soviet Union), the attitude of the CPC toward the war changed dramatically. Communists began to criticize the government for failing to prosecute the war with sufficient vigour. The Tim Buck Plebiscite Committee, the name under which the members of the banned CPC worked, actively campaigned for a 'Yes' vote on conscription in the 1942 plebiscite, and began to reassert demands for government guarantees of union recognition and collective bargaining rights. While the CPC endorsed the 'No Strike Pledge' in line with their support of total war mobilization, communists were also involved in some critical strikes in this period, particularly the great battle for union recognition in the Kirkland Lake gold mines in 1942–1943.



J.B. Salsberg's* A Wartime Labor Policy: For United All-Out War Effort *(1941).

In 1943, the Labor-Progressive Party was formed. It proclaimed the necessity to unite all progressive forces, and specifically proposed electoral cooperation with the CCF, something which the latter indignantly rejected. The LPP also campaigned for the opening of a second front against the Nazis in western Europe. As the war progressed the LPP agitated for a post-war reconstruction policy based on improved working conditions, union recognition and expanded social services.

During the war, many communists were elected to office. In the March 1940 federal election, Dorise Nielsen was elected as M.P. in North Battleford, Saskatchewan on a 'Unity' ticket consisting of communists and disgruntled CCFers. Shortly before the election Nielsen had secretly joined the CPC. In 1941, William Kardash was elected to the Manitoba legislature, serving until 1958. Three years later, LPPer Fred Rose defeated CCF leader David Lewis in the working-class riding of Montreal-Cartier. J.B. Salsberg first secured a seat as an M.P.P. in St. Andrew riding in Toronto in the 1943 provincial election and served for three terms. A.A. MacLeod was elected in the Bellwoods riding in the same election. In various cities and towns across the country, communists were elected to city councils and the school boards. The prestige they achieved during the war gained them a foothold in Canadian parliamentary democracy.

Case 8 Listing

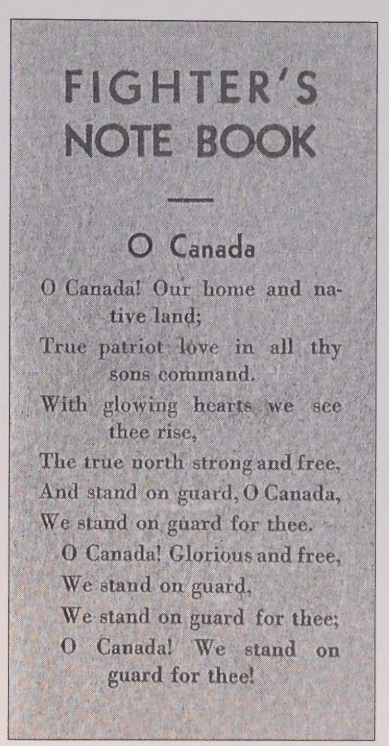
The Communist International. *Vol.XVI, No.2 (February 1939). Toronto: New Era Publishers, 1939.*

This special issue of the official organ of the Comintern contained articles on "Working-Class Unity Against Munich". It criticized the western powers for appeasing Nazi Germany and threatening the security of the Soviet Union.

Stewart Smith. **Who is Double-Crossing Peace?: Address of Alderman Stewart Smith at Toronto, Friday, Aug. 25th, 1939.** *Toronto: Communist Party of Canada, [1939]*

From 1939 to 1941, the CPC characterized the world war as an inter-imperialist conflict in which both sides were hostile to peace and the Soviet Union. Just two days after the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression treaty with Nazi Germany, this article by leading CPC member and Toronto city councillor, Stewart Smith, was the first published attempt by the CPC to explain its change in position on the war.

Smith argued that Britain and France had scuttled any hope for a USSR-western alliance and that the continued appeasement of Nazi Germany by the western allies forced the Soviet Union to sign a non-aggression pact with Hitler as a defensive measure. Categorically rejecting the suggestion that the USSR was now an ally with Hitler, Smith argued that the treaty was merely an agreement by both sides not to attack one another.


FIGHTER'S NOTE BOOK

O Canada

O Canada! Our home and native land;
True patriot love in all thy sons command.
With glowing hearts we see thee rise,
The true north strong and free.
And stand on guard, O Canada,
We stand on guard for thee.
O Canada! Glorious and free,
We stand on guard,
We stand on guard for thee;
O Canada! We stand on guard for thee!

Fighter's Note Book. *[Toronto?]: Soldiers' Committee of the Communist Party and Young Communist League of Canada, 1941.*

This notebook was published by the CPC as a Christmas gift book and given to CPC members and supporters in the armed forces. It featured the national anthem in English and French on the front and back covers respectively, as well as a 1942 calendar, blank pages for notes, song lyrics and information on the CPC's position on the war and Canadian politics.

J.B. Salsberg. **A Wartime Labor Policy: For United All-Out War Effort.** *Toronto: Canadian Tribune Publishing Company, [1941]*

Tim Buck. **National Front For Victory.** *[Toronto: Communist Party of Canada, 1941]*

We Produce for the Second Front and Victory. *Toronto: District 5 Council, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, [1942]*

UAW-CIO Farm Implement Conference. **Organize For Victory.** *Toronto: The United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers, UAW-CIO, 1943.*

The four pamphlets on display promote the common theme of the necessity for an all-out effort in war production and armed forces mobilization, combined with the extension of union rights, especially union recognition and collective bargaining.

Draft Manifesto 1943 *[of the Labor-Progressive Party]*

This typewritten draft of the manifesto of the newly formed, and still unnamed party, outlined the party's support for the immediate invasion of Europe, a labour code enshrining collective bargaining rights, equal pay for equal work for women and youth over eighteen, and a post-war reconstruction plan. The Kenny collection also contains the English and French versions of Tim Buck's, *Canada Needs a Party of Communists.* Toronto: National Initiative Committee to Convene a Communist Constituent Convention, [1943], which is the final published version of the draft manifesto shown above. The introduction notes that 100,000 copies of this pamphlet, which laid out the basic policies and procedures of the LPP, were printed.

The Red Patch. Organ of Hull Anti-Fascist Internees. May Day Souvenir Issue. *[Hull: Anti-Fascist Internees, 1942] Mimeograph with mss additions in pen.*

This rare and remarkable journal was produced by CPC members interned in Hull, Quebec after the party was banned. It includes poems, personal accounts of internment, a history of May Day, an article on a 'strike' by internees at a detention camp in Petawawa, Ontario and a list of communist prisoners interned during the war.

Communist political prisoners faced brutal conditions. Internees were imprisoned in various locations across the country. Convicted by tribunals on dubious legal grounds, they had no formal legal rights and were at the mercy of the federal Minister of Justice. They were allowed few visitors and were unable to receive newspapers or news from the outside world. In some cases, they were interned with fascists and many complained of persistent harassment by guards.[4]

William Kardash. **1942: Year of Victory.** *[Toronto: Dominion Communist-Labor Total War Committee, 1942]*

This pamphlet by communist Member of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly, William Kardash, is a reprint of his speech to the National Workers' Conference for Total War held in Toronto on May 30–31, 1942. The conference was called to form the Dominion Communist-Labor Total War Committee, an organizational means for the CPC to operate under conditions of formal illegality.

[A Word to Voters: Beware of What You Are Voting For] *[Toronto: s.n., 1943]*

This Ukrainian language pamphlet urged voters to elect Canadian Tribune editor, A.A. MacLeod, to the Ontario legislature. MacLeod was successfully elected in the Toronto area riding of Bellwoods seventeen days before the LPP's constituent convention.

Like many printed broadsides and leaflets in the Kenny manuscript collection, this copy appears to have been an editor's copy with information on print runs and estimated printing costs pencilled on the front. Two thousand copies of this eight-page pamphlet were ordered to be printed at an estimated cost of $33.

For a Total War Effort — Defeat Arthur Meighen! *[Toronto: Toronto and York Township Committees, Communist Party of Canada, 1943]*

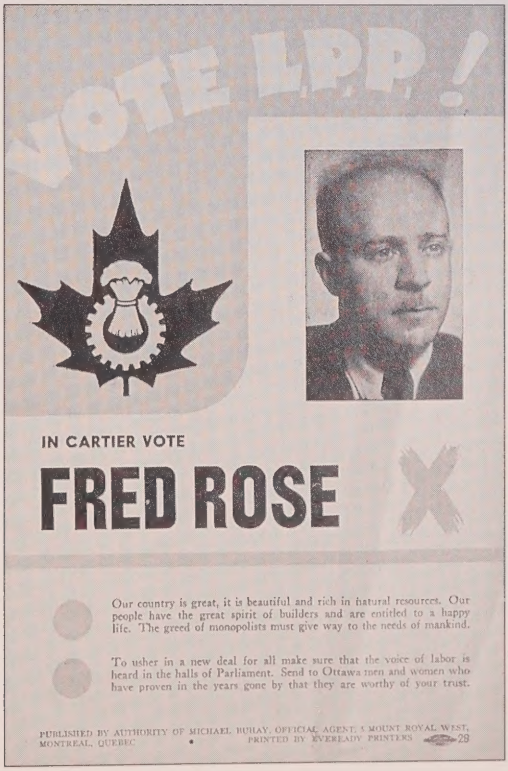
As part of the LPP's attempts to forge unity of 'progressive forces' to aid the war effort, they urged voters to vote for the CCF candidate in the key Ontario riding of York South in a 1943 federal by-election. CCFer Joseph Noseworthy, a high school teacher, easily won the contest, defeating the federal Conservative leader Arthur Meighen in a riding that had voted Tory since 1904.[5]

Noseworthy's campaign for 'a conscription of wealth' won him the mass support of voters, and his was the first federal CCF electoral success east of the prairies.

Come to Mass Meeting on "The Lay-Offs and Labour's Fight for Steady Jobs and Union Wages". Monday, Aug. 20, 8 p.m. Foresters' Hall. *[Toronto: Toronto Labour Council (CCL-CIO) and Toronto District Labour Council (A.F. of L.), 1945]*

This leaflet demonstrates the important struggle for jobs and union rights in the wake of the demobilization of the war economy. Speakers at this meeting included the radical leader of the United Electrical and Machine Workers of Canada, C.S. Jackson, and the federal Ministers of Reconstruction and of Labour, C.D. Howe and Humphrey Mitchell. Just three years earlier, Jackson had been interned under the Defense of Canada Regulations by Howe and Mitchell's Liberal government in Ottawa. In 1945 the LPP and the CCF were considered significant players in the country's politics by the traditional ruling circles because of their influence in the wider labour movement.

This leaflet, distributed by LPP candidate Fred Rose in the 1943 federal by-election contest in Montreal's Cartier riding, details the party's support for national health insurance. Rose defeated CCF leader David Lewis in this election.


VOTE LPP!
IN CARTIER VOTE
FRED ROSE
X
Our country is great, it is beautiful and rich in natural resources. Our people have the great spirit of builders and are entitled to a happy life. The greed of monopolists must give way to the needs of mankind.
To usher in a new deal for all make sure that the voice of labor is heard in the halls of Parliament. Send to Ottawa men and women who have proven in the years gone by that they are worthy of your trust.
PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF MICHAEL BUHAY, OFFICIAL AGENT, 5 MOUNT ROYAL WEST, MONTREAL, QUEBEC • PRINTED BY EVEREADY PRINTERS 29

READING ROOM
CASES AND WALLS

CASE 1

ROBERT S. KENNY: A LIFE OF COMMITMENT AND COLLECTING

Certificate. Inscribed: **In Appreciation for 50 Years Or More Service In The Struggles Of Working People In Canada And The World For Peace, Social Justice and Socialism ... The Communist Party of Canada Recognizes Robert Kenny ... George Hewison for the Central Committee Communist Party of Canada.**

In 1991, the 70th anniversary convention of the CPC honoured Kenny and many others for life-long contributions to the party and the workers' movement.

An Evening Devoted to The Immortal Memory of Robert Burns. Friday, January 28 1972 ... Norman Bethune Centre. *[Toronto: Burns Labour Committee, 1972]*

Kenny was an ardent admirer of the Scottish poet "Robbie" Burns and was long active in Toronto-area Burns societies. Kenny delivered a speech at this celebration entitled "Tribute to the Poet".

Edgar Allan Poe. **Aventures D'Arthur Gordon Pym.** *Traduction de Charles Baudelaire. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1858.*

This French translation by the celebrated poet, Charles Baudelaire, of a book by the American writer Edgar Allan Poe, was one of the most cherished non-political books in Kenny's collection. This copy has the translator's presentation inscription: "à mon ami N. Sasonott, Ch. Baudelaire".

CASE 2

CANADIAN RADICALS AND PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Fred Rose. **My 10 Point Program.** *[Montreal: the author, 1943]*

This leaflet details LPP candidate Fred Rose's successful 1943 election platform of support for total war, union rights and social services. Rose was implicated along with CPC organizational secretary Sam Carr in the 1945–1946 Gouzenko spy affair in which a cipher clerk at the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa produced documents showing the two men were working for the Soviet military attaché during the war. Rose was tried under the Official Secrets Act in 1946 and sentenced to six years imprisonment. On his release, he returned to his native Poland.

On the Basis of the Record, Who Should Represent the People of Spadina? *[Toronto: Spadina Committee of the Labor-Progressive Party, 1955]*

The item on display is an election advertisement for J.B. Salsberg printed on cardboard and shaped like a long play (LP) phonograph record. Salsberg was one of the CPC's most successful and respected parliamentarians. He served three terms in the Ontario legislature, from 1943 to 1955.

Defeat the Parties of Big Business, Vote Communist, Elect a Large Progressive Bloc to Queen's Park. *[Toronto: Communist Party of Canada, 1975]*

This large election broadside for St.Andrew-St.Patrick CPC candidate, Frank Cunningham, features a detailed discussion of the political situation in Ontario, the CPC platform, and photographs of all the CPC candidates in the election.

CASE 3

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!: CANADIAN COMMUNISM AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Soviet Russia Today. *Vol.2, No.24, (October 1935). [Toronto: Friends of the Soviet Union, 1935]*

One of the earliest activities of the CPC was organizing solidarity and aid for the fledgeling socialist republic. Friends of the Soviet Union (FOSU) was one of the many groups organized over the years for this purpose. They publicized Soviet accomplishments, built solidarity through fund-raising and political meetings, and organized trips to the Soviet Union.

This issue of the monthly journal of FOSU featured a cover story by Sir Frederick Banting on Soviet science.

Letters and telegram of greeting to the Fifth National Convention of the Labor-Progressive Party, 1954 from the Polish United Workers Party, the Communist Party of Japan, and the Communist Party of Uruguay.

It was customary for socialist parties to send letters of greeting and support for the activities of their sister organizations. The Kenny collection contains greetings from many countries sent to various LPP and CPC conventions.

CASE 4

LAND AND FREEDOM: CANADIAN COMMUNISTS AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Notebook documenting A.E. Smith's visit to Spain, 1937.

The Spanish Civil War (1936 – 1939) was a historic battle between the Nationalist forces led by the fascist General Franco, and the Loyalists, who defended the Republican government. Socialist organizations around the world formed contingents of volunteer soldiers, the International Brigades, who travelled to Spain to fight the Francoists. The Canadian contingent, the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion (the Mac-Paps), was organized by the CPC which sent 1,300 volunteers to fight against fascism. Over half gave their lives in defense of democracy in Spain. The Aid to Spain Committee, chaired by the Reverend Salem Bland and CPC member Dr. Norman Bethune, a distinguished physician who became famous for his political and medical contributions to the Spanish and Chinese Revolutions, organized solidarity from the home front.

This notebook is opened to the first page which displays several official passport stamps from the International Brigades. The hand-written notebook also includes names and addresses, Spanish language lessons and Smith's notes on daily activities. Smith was a Methodist minister who joined the CPC in 1925 and quickly rose through the ranks. He was head of the Canadian Labour Defense League in the 1930s and wrote widely in CPC publications. His son, Stewart Smith, was also a high-ranking member of the party from the 1920s to the 1950s.

Photograph of Andy Makela during the Spanish Civil War, August 6, 1937.

Makela, a Sudbury CPC member, was commander of the Machine Gun Company in the Mac-Paps. He died in action during the war.

CASE 5

REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE: FIGHTING ANTI-COMMUNISM CANADIAN-STYLE

Photograph of the Tim Buck mass welcome rally, Maple Leaf Gardens December 2, 1934. *Captioned, and signed: E. Mackintosh, Photographer.*

This photograph shows a packed arena welcoming Tim Buck on his release from Kingston penitentiary after serving a two year sentence for seditious activity. In the caption, the crowd was estimated at 17,000 people, with 8,000 turned away because Maple Leaf Gardens was full.

The large turnout shows the extent of the CPC's support and the widespread opposition to state repression.

C.B. Darwin to Colonel G.P. Stirrett. *Typewritten letter dated January 20, 1954.*

This is a letter to the President of the Red Cross in Vancouver protesting the firing of CPC member Beatrice Ferneyhough from her job with the Junior Red Cross. It documents a classic case of the workplace discrimination faced by CPC supporters and other leftists during the 'red-baiting' years of the Cold War.

READING ROOM WALLS

The Revolution in Russia. To Express Sympathy with the Russian Revolutionists, A Public Meeting will be held on Monday January 22nd, in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C... *[London: Social Democratic Federation, 1906]*

The item on display is a large poster advertising a London, England solidarity rally for the Russian Revolution of 1905. The speakers for the rally were drawn from the broad sweep of the British socialist movement, including Will Thorne, M.P., trade unionist and comrade of Marx's daughter Eleanor Marx Aveling, and speakers from the Social Democratic Federation and the moderate Fabian Society. The choir of the Communist Club performed at the rally and a collection was taken up for the Russian revolutionaries.

The Communist Bulletin, *Vol.1, No.1 (ca. May 1921). Published by Canadian section of the United Communist Party of America.*

The Communist. *Vol.1, No.1 (May 1st 1921). Published by Authority of the Third Communist International in Canada.*

The Communist. *Vol.1, No.1 (June 1921). Official organ of the Communist Party of Canada (Section of the Communist International).*

The Workers' World. *Vol.1, No.1 (August 17, 1921).*

The Workers Guard. *Vol.1, No.3 (Nov.26, 1921).*

The Worker. *Vol.1, No.1 (March 15, 1922.). Official organ of the Workers' Party of Canada.*

The early communist newspapers on display chart the history of the two communist parties in Canada—the Canadian sections of the United Communist Party of America and the Communist Party of America—and their fusion into the CPC/WPC in 1921.

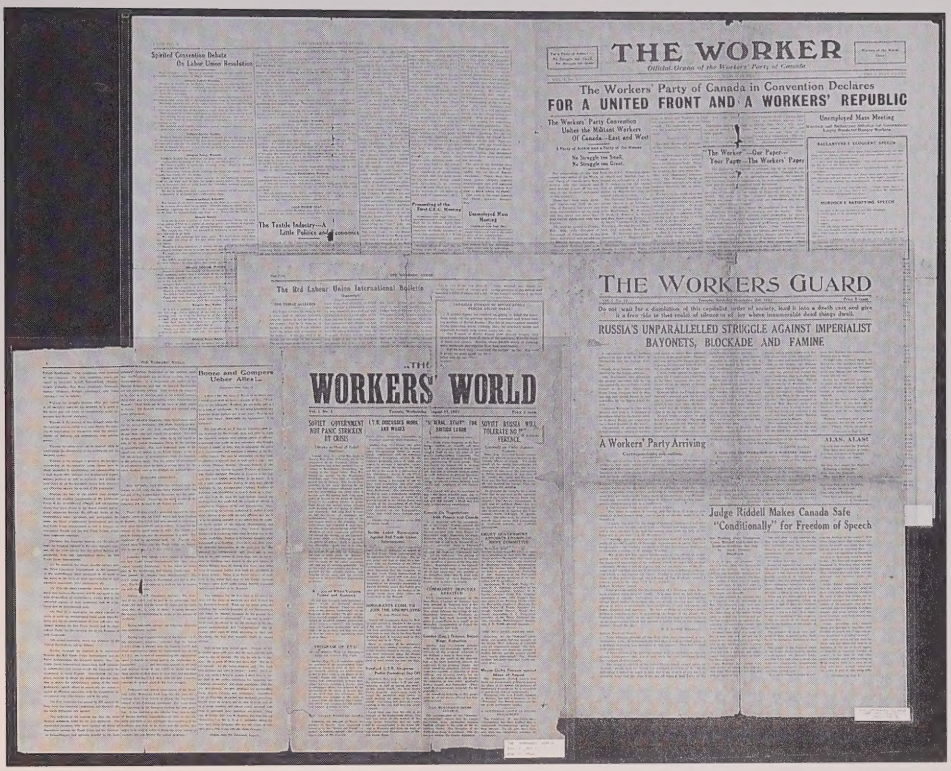
Reproductions of artwork from *New Frontier*, 1936–1937.

These are copies of wood engravings and linoleum cuts which appeared in this CPC-affiliated magazine to illustrate various political themes.

The composing room of* The Daily Tribune, *September 1947.

Opposite, top: The earliest newspapers of the Communist Party of Canada, 1921 – 1922.

Opposite, bottom: Issues of the CPC's national weekly paper,* The Tribune *(October 18, 1976) and its French-language monthly,* Combat *(April 1957).


THE WORKER

Official Organ of the Workers' Party of Canada

The Workers' Party of Canada in Convention Declares

FOR A UNITED FRONT AND A WORKERS' REPUBLIC

THE WORKERS GUARD

RUSSIA'S UNPARALLELED STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST BAYONETS, BLOCKADE AND FAMINE

THE WORKERS' WORLD

A Workers' Party Arriving

Judge Riddell Makes Canada Safe "Conditionally" for Freedom of Speech

TRIOMPHE DE LA JUSTICE

COMBAT VICTORIEUX

LA LOI DU CADENAS EST ABOLIE!

COMBAT

LABOR'S MIGHTY REPLY TO BILL C-73

OVER 1 MILLION OUT!

CANADIAN tribune

'The preservation of our democratic freedoms at stake' — Morris

COMMUNIST PARTY 23RD CONVENTION

Unity Appeal to the NDP

Struggle only begun — Kashtan

TORONTO — Over half of the affiliated membership of the Canadian Labor Congress responded Oct. 14 to the labor centre's call for a National Day of Protest against the wage-cutting assault on democracy perpetrated on the Canadian working people by the big business Trudeau government — Bill C-73.

At Tribune press time the estimate by the CLC, which Congress spokesmen described as "possibly conservative", was that 1,684,744 of its affiliate members did not work on Oct. 14.

In over 114 labor councils in the main urban centres across Canada, protest activities got under way on schedule in the face of harsh weather conditions and cold winds in some areas, as well as in the face of the hot wind being passed by the monopoly-controlled press. With few exceptions across the country, radio, television and newspaper coverage tended in

THE COMMUNIST

The One Big Union in Retrospect

THE DISCIPLINE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

PROGRAM CONSTITUTION RESOLUTIONS

The COMMUNIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA (SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL)

The Constituent Convention

The Third World Congress of the Communist International

THE COMMUNIST

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE THIRD (COMMUNIST) INTERNATIONAL IN CANADA

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

MAY DAY, 1921 LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!

THE COMMUNIST

BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY CANADIAN SECTION OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

For the World Revolution!

Above: The first Canadian communist newspapers, May – June 1921.

1934 photograph showing police repression at a 2,000 strong demonstration at Toronto's Union Station to welcome home leading CPC member Sam Carr from Kingston penitentiary. The woman kneeling to help the injured man is Jean "Jim" Watts.

A NOTE ON THE COVER ILLUSTRATION

Wood engraving from Laurence Hyde, **Seven Ages of Man: A Folio of Wood-Engravings.** *Toronto: Grosvenor House Press, [1939] Permission to reproduce this illustration has been granted by the artist's widow Bettye M. Hyde.*

THE WOOD ENGRAVING CHOSEN AS THE COVER ILLUSTRATION IS A STRIKING example of politically-inspired art from the 1930s. Portraying a worker breaking the chains of capitalism, it is the final engraving in a work which illustrates the seven stages of human development. As Hyde writes in the introduction to this folio: "In the final engraving is seen the régime of decay at last menaced by the united forces of progressive men; and a prediction of what Thomas Mann has so courageously termed, 'the coming victory of democracy'".[1] This work may have been exhibited at the Ontario Society of Artists exhibition in 1938 as "Portrait of a Man, no.92".[2] Another engraving in the folio, depicting the fight against Nazism, appeared on the programme of the Theatre of Action play, *It Can't Happen Here.*[3]

Laurence Hyde (1914 – 1987) was born in England and moved with his family to Toronto in 1928 where he attended night classes in art at Central Technical School from 1932 – 1939. During the 1930s, he created numerous engravings and drawings on political themes for the left-wing magazines *New Frontier* and *Canadian Forum.* In the late 1930s he was an assistant editor of *The Canadian Artist,* the paper of Local 71 of the Artists Union.[4] His major works, such as *Southern Cross,* consisted of sets of prints from wood engravings to illustrate stories or tell stories in pictures.[5] He worked in various capacities for the National Film Board from 1942 until retirement in 1972.

Like many artists in the 1930s, Hyde was attracted to the simple yet bold designs of wood cuts, wood engravings and linoleum cuts. Influenced by the work of the American and British engravers, Rockwell Kent and Eric Gill, Hyde believed that this type of artistic work fit the turbulent depression years. As he told an interviewer in 1985:

> Hitler was threatening to gain power and these dramatic, simple graphic mediums were popular ... They were simple ways of turning out images and therefore propaganda. This was an age of left-wing propaganda, of socialist propaganda. There were thousands and millions of people unemployed and everybody was in the same boat. There were so many of them around that you very rapidly found yourself in their orbit because they demanded graphic material—they wanted you to do illustrations for their magazines or flyers, you see, and all the artists in those days were very eager to get their stuff printed. They didn't care very much who printed it, as long as they saw it printed.[6]

The tools and materials used in engravings and cuts were relatively inexpensive and prints were easily reproduced in magazines either as separate plates or combined in the forme with letterpress text—an important technical and financial

consideration for struggling left-wing publications. A block of wood, cutting tools, a roller to apply the ink and an ordinary printing press was all that was required for Hyde's engravings.[7] The illustrations in *Seven Ages of Man* were cut on American boxwood and were printed from the original blocks by the Thistle Printing Company of Toronto.

LOVERS SHELTERING FROM A STORM — *Laurence Hyde.*

Reproductions of illustrations by Laurence Hyde from* New Frontier *magazine, 1936 – 1937.

STILL LIFE. — *By Laurence Hyde.*

NOTES

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

1 *Newsletter* (William Morris Society of Canada), Winter 1993/94, 14.

2 Paul Wilson, "The Touch", *Books in Canada,* Vol.12, No.10 (December 1983), 11.

3 Douglas Lochhead, "Bi-Cultural Book Exhibit in Hart House", *Varsity,* Vol.83, No.10 (18 October 1963).

4 Robert S. Kenny, "A Response", *Communist Viewpoint,* Vol.12, No.4 (July 1980), 74-75.

5 Robert S. Kenny, "100th Anniversary of the Paris Commune", *Communist Viewpoint,* Vol.3 No.2 (March/April 1971), 74.

6 Ibid., 75.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1 E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* (London: Penguin Books, 1986), 12. This book was originally published in 1963.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1 Vladimir Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?* [1902] in *Selected Works,* Vol.1 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1971), 109.

2 This famed motto appears on Marx's gravestone in Highgate Cemetery in London. It was written in 1845 in Marx's eleventh "Thesis on Feuerbach" and is available in English translation in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works,* Vol. 5, Marx and Engels: 1845–47 (New York: International Publishers, 1976), 8. Emphasis in the original.

3 See Peter Campbell, *'Stalwarts of the Struggle': Canadian Marxists of the Third Way, 1879–1939* (Ph.D. Thesis, Queen's University, 1991).

4 American Social History Project. *Who Built America?: Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture and Society.* Vol.1, From Conquest and Colonization Through Reconstruction and the Great Uprising of 1877, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989), 537.

5 Charles H. Kerr and Company was founded by the son of an abolitionist in 1886, the year of the 'Great Upheaval' in American labour history. It was still in the publishing business in 1997. See Allen Ruff, *"We Called Each Other Comrade": Charles H. Kerr & Company, Radical Publishers* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

6 Robert S. Kenny, "The Communist Manifesto", *Communist Viewpoint,* Vol.5, No.2 (March-April 1973), 17.

7 The English title of Lenin's pamphlet is: Revisions of the Agrarian Programme of the Workers Party. It appears in Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol.10. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1962.

8 Paul Buhle, *A Dreamer's Paradise Lost: Louis Fraina/Lewis Corey and the Decline of Radicalism in the United States* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1995).

9 Gregory S. Kealey, "Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson: Canadian Revolutionary Intellectual", *Studies in Political Economy,* No.9 (1982), 103-170. The Kenny collection holds first editions of Ryerson's major works including *French Canada: A Study in Canadian Democracy* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1943); *A World To Win: An Introduction to the Science of Socialism* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1946); *The Founding of Canada: Beginnings to 1815* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1960); and *Unequal Union: Confederation and the Roots of Conflict in the Canadas, 1915 – 1873* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1968).

10 The Kenny collection contains virtually all of Buck's various writings as well as his personal copy of Marx's *Das Kapital.*

11 Gordon Laxer, "Introduction", in Gordon Laxer, ed., *Perspectives on Canadian Economic Development: Class, Staples, Gender and Elites.* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991), xv-xvii.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1 Gregory Kealey, "1919: The Canadian Labour Revolt", *Labour/Le Travail,* No.13 (Spring 1984), 11-44.

2 Ian Angus, *Canadian Bolsheviks* (Montreal: Vanguard Publications, 1981), 3.

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4 Handwritten note by Peter Weinrich laid in with the minutes in the Kenny manuscript collection, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, MS Coll. 179, Box 2, Folder 2. Weinrich's critically acclaimed bibliography, *Social Protest From The Left in Canada, 1870 – 1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, c1982) is dedicated to Robert S. Kenny.

5 American Social History Project. *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture and Society.* Vol.2, From the Gilded Age to the Present (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992), 121-122.

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7 *Ibid.*, 53.

8 Kealey, "1919: The Canadian Labour Revolt", 24-27.

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1 Workers' Party of Canada. *Manifesto of the Workers [sic] Party of Canada On The Immediate Problems of Canadian Labor.* [Toronto: Central Executive Committee, 1923]

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1 Vladimir Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder* in *Selected Works,* Vol.3. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977).

2 *Canada's Party of Socialism*, 33. This book was produced by a CPC Historical Commission of which Robert S. Kenny was a member. The text was produced by Gerry van Houten under the Commission's direction.

3 Bryan Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800 – 1991.* 2nd. ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, c1992), 223-224.

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1 See Duncan Hallas, *The Comintern,* (London: Bookmarks, 1985), 66.

2 Communist International. Congress (7th: 1935: Moscow, R.S.F.S.R.) *Resolutions; including the closing speech of Georgi Dimitroff.* New York: Workers Library Publishers, [1935]

3 *Canada's Party of Socialism*, 117-118.

4 *Ibid.*, 121-123.

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1 A. Kollontai, *Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle* (London: Bookmarks, 1984), 12. This pamphlet was first published in Russian in 1919. Kollontai was a leading member of the Russian Bolsheviks and played a key role in the *Zhenotdel,* the Soviet government's Women's Department.

2 This section on women's role within the CPC relies on Joan Sangster, *Dreams of Equality: Women on the Canadian Left, 1920 – 1950* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, c1989), 52-54.

3 *Ibid.*, 185.

4 Clara Zetkin, Käthe Duncker and Comrades, "A proposal to the Second International Women's Conference, Copenhagen, August 27, 1910" cited in Philip Foner ed. *Clara Zetkin: Selected Writings* (New York: International Publishers, 1984), 108. See also Karen Honeycutt, *Clara Zetkin: A Left-Wing Socialist and Feminist in Wilhelmian Germany* [Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1975].

5 Sangster, *Dreams of Equality*, 43.

6 Carolyn Egan, 1978 IWD Organizing Committee Member, personal communication, January 1998. Also see Arja Lane, "Wives Supporting the Strike" in Linda Briskin and Lynda Yanz eds. *Union Sisters: Women in the Labour Movement* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1983), 322-332.

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1 Editorial cited in Dorothy Livesay, *Right Hand, Left Hand.* (Erin, Ontario: Press Porcepic, 1977), 77.

2 Bryan Palmer, *Working-Class Experience,* 127.

3 *Ibid.*, 224.

4 Sangster, *Dreams of Equality,* 43.

5 Sandra Souchette, "Workers' Theatre in the Thirties Part I," *This Magazine*, Vol.9, No.2 (May–June, 1975), 3.

6 Palmer, *Working-Class Experience,* 258.

7 Patricia Ainslie, *The Wood Engravings of Laurence Hyde* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1986), 12.

8 Ian McKay, "Introduction", in Colin McKay, *Windjammers and Bluenose Sailors: Stories of the Sea.* (Lockeport, Nova Scotia: Roseway Publishers, 1993), 22.

9 Souchette, "Workers' Theatre", 4.

10 Ibid., 5.

11 A compact disk audio recording of the Peace Arch Concerts has recently been released with an accompanying booklet on the history of the event. *Paul Robeson: The Peace Arch Concerts* (Napierville, Illinois: Folk Era Productions, 1998).

12 Sandra Souchette, "Workers' Theatre in the Thirties: Part II", *This Magazine,* Vol.9, No.3 (July–August 1975), 3-6.

13 Robin Endres, "Introduction", in Robin Endres and Richard Wright eds., *Eight Men Speak and Other Plays From the Canadian Workers' Theatre* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1976), xxxiv-xxxv. See as well Toby Ryan, *Stage Left: Canadian Theatre in the Thirties, A Memoir* (Toronto: CTR Publications, 1981).

14 Robert Kenny, "Working-Class Literature", audiotape of a lecture ca.1962.

15 Joe Wallace, "Introduction", in *A Radiant Sphere* (Moscow: Progress Books, 1964), 7.

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1 Cited in *Canada's Party of Socialism,* 141.

2 See the figures cited in Labor-Progressive Party. *Second National Convention. Organizational Statements [on] Dues, Initiation, Membership Books, Clubs, Convention Assessment, Literature.* [Toronto: Labor-Progressive Party, 1946] displayed in Case 3.

3 *Canada's Party of Socialism,* 137.

4 See the journal on display and the account by labour lawyer, John Stanton, who represented B.C. communist leader, Fergus McKean, who was interned from 1941–43. John Stanton, *My Past Is Now: Further Memoirs of a Labor Lawyer* (St.John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1994), 59.

5 J.L. Finlay and D.N. Sprague, *The Structure of Canadian History* (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1984), 372.

Note on Cover Illustration

1 Laurence Hyde, "Introduction", in *Seven Ages of Man: A Folio of Wood-Engravings* (Toronto: Grosvenor House Press, [1939]).

2 Ainslie, *The Wood Engravings of Laurence Hyde,* 36. The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library contains one of only two copies of *Seven Ages of Man* recorded in public institutions in Canada.

3 This programme is on display in Case 7 and is discussed in the listing on the Theatre of Action.

4 Ainslie, *The Wood Engravings of Laurence Hyde,* 21.

5 Patricia Ainslie and Alan Horne, "Laurence Hyde: an interview", *The Devil's Artisan, A Journal of the Printing Arts,* No.21 (1987), 4.

6 Ibid., 10, 19.

7 Ibid., 10. For a more detailed explanation of the technique of wood engraving see Hyde's article, "Wood Engraving" in *Canadian Art,* Vol.3, No.3 (April–May 1946), 100-103.

THE

REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.

To express sympathy with the Russian Revolutionists,

A PUBLIC

MEETING

WILL BE HELD ON

Monday, January 22nd,

IN THE

MEMORIAL HALL

FARRINGDON STREET, E.C.

This Meeting will form one of a series of simultaneous meetings to be held in every Country at the recommendation of the International Socialist Bureau.

THE CHAIR WILL BE TAKEN AT 8 P.M. BY

WILL THORNE, M.P.

AND AMONG THE SPEAKERS WILL BE

J. E. GREGORY (London Trades Council)
G. STANDRING
J. F. GREEN (Friends of Russian Freedom)
B. WEINGARTZ
G. FREUND
H. M. HYNDMAN
H. QUELCH
W. C. STEADMAN, M.P.
CECIL CHESTERTON (Fabian Society).

THE CHOIR OF THE COMMUNIST CLUB WILL SING.

A Collection will be made in aid of the Russian Revolutionists.

January 17th, 1906.

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